

IAF blasts Ahmed Jibril bases

THREE people were reportedly killed and four others wounded in a series of raids by IAF warplanes against bases of Ahmed Jibril's Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command, south of Beirut.

Reports from Lebanon said the international airport in Beirut was closed for a time as a result of the IAF activity and flights were temporarily diverted to Larnaca in Cyprus.

The IDF Spokesman said the pilots reported direct hits on the targets, and that all the aircraft returned safely to their bases.

The attacks yesterday were centered on bases of Jibril's organization in Na'ameh and Damour, about 10 km. south of the Lebanese capital.

DAVID RUDGE

Reports from Lebanon said several warplanes flew more than 10 sorties at the targets, and that a helicopter gunship had also participated in the attacks.

The reports, from news agencies and Lebanese radio stations, said the planes and the helicopter dropped missile-deflecting heat balloons.

There were reports that Lebanese army troops fired anti-aircraft rounds at the planes, but missed the targets.

The attacks yesterday were seen as part of the initiated activities against Hizbullah and other hostile organizations in Lebanon, in-

cluding rejectionist Palestinian groups which have recently escalated their operations, particularly in the security zone.

Lebanese parliament speaker Nabih Berri, who is also head of the Amal Shi'ite movement, was quoted as saying that the resistance attacks against IDF and South Lebanese Army targets in the security zone would continue "as long as Israel occupies the south."

There were also reports of long-range attacks by gunmen using Katyusha rockets, mortars and machine guns against IDF and SLA positions in the Rehan and Soujoud regions in the eastern sector of the security zone. There were no reports of casualties and IDF and SLA gunners reportedly returned fire.

Family hires security guards to protect Alperon

RAINE MARCUS

MOSHE Alperon, 42, was in serious but stable condition at Tel Aviv's Ichilov Hospital yesterday, recovering from wounds caused Saturday by a bomb planted in his car.

One of Alperon's legs was amputated and the other was completely crushed by the explosion. Alperon was still in the inten-

sive care unit last night, and regaining consciousness periodically.

Police are still investigating who made and planted the bomb meant to kill Alperon.

"I can think of about 7,000 people who would want to see

him dead," said an officer. "These revenge attacks could be the result of an incident from years ago."

Family members were taking no chances regarding his safety. Although an armed policeman was guarding his room, the Alperon family hired their own armed security guard to keep a round-the-clock watch on the wounded man. Visitors to his bedside were carefully screened.

Alperon's brother Zelman, acting as family spokesman, refused to allow other family members to speak to reporters. He reiterated that there would not be "gang warfare" in Tel Aviv as a result of Saturday's incident.

Police sources said that Alperon was a silent partner in one of two illegal casinos near Ramat

Gan's Diamond Exchange. Casino operators and owners were questioned by detectives.

David Rudge adds:

Police believe a blast at a Haifa office block late on Saturday night was part of a new struggle over control of casinos in the city. The explosion badly damaged a room in an office block in the city's Hadar district.

Police sources said the room had been used in the past as an illegal casino and it appeared that the blast was part of an underworld fight.

The blast was apparently caused by a build-up of gas in the room, which was ignited by some form of remote control, causing the explosion.

Police said there did not appear to be any connection between the incident and the car bomb attack on Alperon.

To Sarah and Yossi Fachler, Rev. Simon Hass, and all other members of the family

We grieve with you on the sad loss of

ELAINE HASS

Yanky Fachler
Chaim and Judith Fachler
Meir and Michal Fachler

We grieve the loss of our dear
NIC KLEIN (Prof. Emeritus)

who passed away on January 12, 1995.

He donated his body to science.

The Family

Condolences at his home in Haifa.

ROBIN REUVEN MORGAN

is no longer with us.

We share the grief and pain of his family and friends.

Management and Staff of the
Israel Broadcasting Authority

The Foundation for the Advancement of Yiddish Studies
We mourn the passing of our honorary chairman

SAMUEL A. KLURMAN

Founder of our Yiddish Teachers Seminary in Moscow.

His dedication to Israel, fidelity to Hebrew, love of Yiddish and commitment to Jewish education found noble expression in his life and deeds.

Our profound sympathy to his life partner, Zissel

daughters: Tzipora Ben-Aviv
Menucha Mizrahi
Dina Krantz
Dvora

and their families

Prof. Gershon Winer
Rabbi Milton Arm (U.S.), Chairmen

AHARON FELDMAN

Our deepest condolences
and our sympathy
on the death of your beloved wife

BRAHA

Ruth and Bruce Rappaport
and Family

In deep sorrow, we announce the passing of our dear

BRACHA (Bernice) FELDMAN

The funeral will take place today,
Monday, January 16, 1995 (Shvat 15)

at 11:30 a.m.,

at Sde Yehoshua Cemetery (Kfar Samir)
Haifa (Gate 1).

The Bereaved Family

Settlers: US consular officials are not welcome

HERB KEINON

SETTLEMENT leaders declared US consular officials *persona non grata* yesterday, calling upon settlements to bar their gates to them and their Arab escorts monitoring Jewish building beyond the Green Line.

The directives, issued by the Council of Jewish Communities in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza, came "following attempts by employees of the American Consulate in East Jerusalem, escorted by Arabs, to enter settlements in Judea and Samaria to 'check' building in these areas."

According to the directives, the settlements should not, "under any conditions, allow these spies to enter the gates of our settlements."

Council spokesman Aharon Domb said the directives followed visits late last week to Shilo and Talmon. He denied that the

settlements had anything to hide: "If they would have turned to us first, it would have been one thing. What we object to is their doing it in a sneaky fashion, like thieves in the night."

The US Embassy employs an official in Jerusalem whose duties include monitoring building in the settlements. In the past, there has been cooperation between this official and local regional council heads.

Asked whether the settlements can legally bar entry to US diplomatic officials, Domb said: "We can keep the Arabs from entering."

The US Embassy and Consulate do not work on Sunday, and it was not possible to obtain an official response.

The Foreign Ministry said it

had not received any complaints from the settlers or the US Consulate over the issue.

The directives also say that violence should not be used against the diplomats, but attempts should be made to "deter the terrorists accompanying them."

These directives, however, were not made known to the heads of all the settlements. Shlomo Katan, the head of the Alfei Menashe local council, said last night that the directives had not reached him.

Katan said he would gladly let the diplomats into his settlements "to see how Jews build up the Land of Israel, even if it angers them."

Regarding the Arab escorts, Katan said he would have to check if they were PLO-affiliated. If they were, he said, they would be denied access.



Hundreds of people participate in a ceremony yesterday marking the end of the seven-day mourning period for Ophra Felix near the Halamish junction, where she was murdered. The IDF announced last night that they would no longer guard the settlers at the junction who have stood vigil since the murder. Members of a youth group from Elon Moreh announced that they would remain at the junction. (Text: Ilin; Photo: Brian Heider)

Palestinians plant trees to protest settlement expansion

JON IMMANUEL

PALESTINIAN villagers planted trees in near several settlements yesterday, at the behest of the Higher Committee on Settlements established last week.

The day of tree planting, meant to protest settlement expansion and the building of bypass roads, was observed at El-Khader near Efrat, El-Bireh near Psagot, Beit Haggai south of Hebron, Iksaka near Ariel, and Kafri Dik near Nablus. It was also observed in villages that have no

conflicts with settlements.

Suleiman Najjab, a member of the PLO Executive Committee and leader of the Palestine People's Party said that at this time of year "Palestinians traditionally observe a day of planting trees, Yom al-Shajara."

The higher committee was established in Jericho at a conference last Monday. Originally it ordered a strike, but this was

changed to a day of action on the land at the urging of committee member Najjab, who said "the people are fed up with strikes and it is better to do something active."

Further action would depend on the policy of the government, Najjab said.

Today, a delegation from the Spanish Foreign Ministry is to call at Orient House in Jerusalem, and Palestinians are expected to raise the settlement issue.

Another private eye held for bugging

RAINE MARCUS

ANOTHER private investigator suspected of illegal wiretapping was arrested yesterday. The man is expected to appear in Petah Tikva's Magistrate's Court for a remand hearing today.

Meanwhile, the Police Ministry spokesman refused to confirm reports that a private detective had been given immunity from prosecution in return for helping police in the wiretapping case involving private investigators Rafi Friedan and Ya'acov Tsur.

The investigator, a former policeman, has been questioned to find out if he can help police discover who commissioned the wide-scale wiretapping on media personnel, politicians, and businessmen.

Yesterday, said a source, the investigator was given immunity in return for information. Another private eye, a prosecution witness in Tsur and Friedan's trial, has reportedly been offered large sums of money by police in return for evidence which can convict whoever ordered the bugging.

ESCALATION

(Continued from Page 1)
an additional way to hit at us," Gur said. "But without a doubt we are talking about something very uncomfortable."

But OC Judea and Samaria Maj.-Gen. Gabi Ophir said he doesn't believe the incident signifies a dangerous turning point.

"This incident is no different than all other grave terror incidents in the region," he said.

The army yesterday began investigating whether the rocket was one of 10 stolen from the IDF base at Nebi Mussa last year. Army sources said that all the stolen rockets were training models.

Winning cards

In yesterday's Mifal Hapayis daily Chance card draw, the lucky cards were the ten of spades, nine of hearts, eight of diamonds, and nine of clubs.

els, and that explosive heads cannot be installed on them.

According to Arnon, the IDF has recently thinned out its presence in Hebron, leading to an escalation of violence there. Arnon complained that it took the IDF 45 minutes to respond to the rocket attack, a charge denied by the IDF.

Meanwhile, shots were fired at a car near the settlement of Morag in Gush Katif early yesterday morning. Gaza Coast Regional Council spokeswoman Dalia Herszkowitz said that the shots were fired from a parked car that fled in the direction of Rafiah. Shots or explosives aimed at settlers or soldiers in Gaza have in recent weeks, named into an almost every day occurrence.

Alon Pinkas contributed to this report.

INFLATION

(Continued from Page 1)
rate, "we are entering a period in which inflation will decrease."

"An annual inflation rate of 14.5% is more than we wanted, so it is impossible to be happy about it," he said in a press statement. "However, there is no doubt that if people had been asked at the beginning of 1994 which is more important, reducing unemployment or inflation, everyone would have agreed that reducing unemployment was more important. But now that unemployment has already dropped, in 1995 we need to concentrate on reducing inflation."

The cost of a standard basket of goods and services for the average urban family rose to NIS 6,355, including housing, compared with NIS 6,300 in November. Excluding housing, the basket cost NIS 4,890, compared with NIS 4,845.

December's rise brought the index to 119.7 points on a base-line averaging 100 in 1993, compared with 118.7 points in November.

Manufacturers Association President Dan Propper said December's lower index should enable the Bank of Israel to lower interest rates. He added that without a reduction in interest rates now and throughout the year, profitability will continue to be further eroded, nullifying the government's moves to improve it.

Evelyn Gordon and Michal Yudelman contributed to this report.

Experts argue over safety of dried fruits

JUDY SIEGEL

ARE this season's dried fruits — the customary fare for Tu B'Shvat, which is being marked today — safe for consumption? It depends whom you ask.

Dr. Yoram Melavsky, a food technologist at the Hista-drut's Consumer Protection Authority, says he found unsatisfactory levels of molds, preservatives and defects in a number of types of dried fruit purchased from open markets and supermarket chains that his team tested during the past few weeks. Melavsky claims that the Health Ministry is "not doing enough testing and not treating this matter seriously enough."

But Dr. Brian Cousin, a food engineer who heads the ministry's Food Service Division, says the public can enjoy their dried fruits without worry. "The district health offices have been testing hundreds of samples around the country in the past couple of weeks and so far have found nothing out of the ordinary. If we find any excessive amounts of molds or preservatives in a certain product, we will inform the public immediately and halt its sales."

In any case, Cousin maintained "it takes decades of consuming toxins produced by some molds to have a carcinogenic effect."



Young patients at Hadassah-University Hospital in Jerusalem's Ein Kerem enjoy special Tu B'Shvat treats yesterday. (Avi Hayoun)

Special events planned for Tu B'Shvat

SYBIL EHRLICH

SPECIAL events, including tree planting, will take place throughout the country today for Tu B'Shvat, the traditional new year for trees.

The theme of this year's Jewish National Fund tree-planting activities is "Planting for Peace." The principal ceremony will take place at 11 a.m. at Givat Massua, in Jerusalem, in the presence of President Ezer Weizman. Other JNF events in the Jerusalem area will take place at 9 a.m. in Gilo, and at 9:30 a.m. at Sha'ar Hagai.

In the North, there will be ceremonies in

Kiryat Haim (10), Kiryat Shmona (10:30), and the Ein Zeitim forest near Safed (11). In the South, there will be a special nature program — including painting, cooking, balloon designing, theater, games and tours — from 9 a.m. to 2 p.m. at the Yotv Forest.

For those on the road, there will be "Stop and Plant for Peace" spots operating from 8 to 4 at the Halafta junction on the Amiad-Karmiel road, near the Portzima monument on the

Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway, near the Yoav fortress at the Givat junction on the Plugot-Ashkelon road, and at the Lahavim junction on the main highway to Beersheba.

For information on guided tours today, tomorrow, and Friday, call the numbers 02-707411, 02-291333, 03-5234367, 04-641297, 07-276282.

Tomorrow, the Knesset will mark its birthday with a tree-planting ceremony in the Knesset Forest, at the foot of the amphitheater on Mt. Scopus, Jerusalem.

90% of ex-Soviet olim believe they're Jewish

HAIM SHAPIRO

A RECENT survey shows that an overwhelming number of immigrants from the former Soviet Union consider themselves Jewish.

At the same time, the survey indicates the olim are far more secular than the average Israeli.

The survey, conducted by the Tatzpit Institute and published in the latest *State and Religion Yearbook*, published by the Reform movement's Religious Action Center, showed that about 90 percent of the immigrants believe they are Jews according to halacha.

The survey was based upon a representative sample of 817 immigrants, who arrived between September 1989 and the end of 1993, a period in which there were 475,000 olim.

Of the married immigrants, 83.5% said that their marriages would be recognized as valid by the rabbinate. Another 10% said that only one of the partners was Jewish according to halacha; 3.2% said that both partners were Jewish, but one could not prove it; and 3.3% said neither partner was Jewish according to

halacha.

Of the unmarried, 89.3% said they could prove their mother was Jewish; 3.4% said their mother was Jewish, but they could not prove it; and 7.3% said their mother was not Jewish.

Of those who said they were Jews according to halacha, 64.2% defined themselves as secular, 31.6% as traditional, and 4.2% as religious.

The percentage of secular Jews was far higher than among veteran population, where surveys have found that only 21% consider themselves totally secular and 38% see themselves as religious.

Moreover, among the immigrants who said they were religious, only 25% send their children to religious schools. Of the 7.5% who said they send their children to religious schools, 52% also said they never go to synagogue.

With regard to specific observance, 74.2% of the olim said they never pray in a synagogue, compared with 19% of veteran Israelis; 39.2% said they never fast on Yom Kippur, compared with 11% of veterans.

Mekorot covering reservoirs to improve drinking water

DAVID RUDGE

WORK has started on covering open air reservoirs as part of Mekorot's overall plans to improve the quality of drinking water.

A special method, using rolls of canvas-like polymer material which floats on the surface of the water, is being used in the project, Mekorot spokesperson Yael Shoham announced yesterday.

The material seals the surface of the water, preventing air-carried bacteria from penetrating and minimizing the growth of algae and evaporation of water from the heat of the sun.

Shoham said the material not only seals off the water but is flexible enough to cope with any fluctuations in the level of the water in the reservoirs.

She noted that there are 10 open reservoirs throughout the country which supply drinking quality water to communities in the immediate areas.

The first to be covered, the B'daiya reservoir, supplies water to consumers in the Ramle-Lod area. Each project is expected to cost about \$430,000.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Daylight savings begins March 31

Daylight savings time will begin at midnight between Thursday, March 30 and Friday, March 31, the Interior Ministry announced yesterday. At that time, clocks must be moved forward one hour to 1 a.m.

Daylight savings time is scheduled to end at midnight between Saturday, August 26, and Sunday, August 27.

No hostile witness in Deri trial

The Jerusalem District Court refused a demand by the prosecution to declare Shlomo Levy a hostile witness, even though there were contradictions between his statements to police and his testimony in court in the trial of former interior minister Aryeh Deri.

The dispute is about money paid by the Moresheet Binyamin Housing Company to the Har Shimon Residents Association.

The prosecution claims this was really money paid as a bribe to Moshe Weinberg, to use his influence to get alternative land for the company once it was discovered it couldn't build on its original site in Nebi Samwil.

Postal Authority workers to hold sanctions

Service at the nation's post offices will be interrupted between 10:30 a.m. and 12:30 p.m. today, as workers hold protest meetings to press their claims regarding pension payments being made to Postal Authority workers transferred from the Communications Ministry.

No stamp, postal bank, or express delivery services will be available, and mail will not be sorted or delivered during that time.

Suspected wife-beater remanded

A Holon man suspected of abusing his estranged wife was remanded for four days by Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court yesterday. According to police, although the man, 40, had been banned by the court from visiting her home or having any other relationship with her, he beat her three times within a month.

PWA workers want independence

Several dozen Public Works Authority workers demonstrated outside the Prime Minister's Office yesterday to protest what they called "treasury foot-dragging" over plans to turn the PWA into an independent authority. PWA union chief David Gabbai said an agreement on this had been reached two years ago, but the Treasury has done nothing to implement it.

Aleh Academy wins math competition

The Aleh Academy for Sciences has won first place in the Technion's competition for high school mathematics. Situated at the David Razieli youth village in Herzliya, the boarding school has among its pupils both veteran Israelis and new immigrants from the CIS. It was founded two years ago and aims at sending its outstanding graduates to the Technion.

Panels to decide on abortions

JUDY SIEGEL

THE decision to allow an abortion when the fetus is more than 23 weeks old will now be made by one of six regional abortion committees, whose appointment was announced yesterday by the Health Ministry.

The ministry was following the recommendation of the National Council for Gynecology, Genetics, and Neonatology, which noted that in the case of older fetuses whose abortion were risky and involved serious ethical issues, senior medical and ethics experts had in any case been consulted by local abortion committees.

The regional committees will be located at Rambam Hospital in Haifa, Beilinson Hospital in Petah Tikva, Sheba Hospital at Tel Hashomer, Hadassah-University Hospital in Jerusalem's Ein Kerem, Soroka Hospital in Beersheba, and the Serlin Obstetrics Hospital (attached to Ichilov) in Tel Aviv. Each committee will be comprised of six people, including the hospital director, head of gynecology/obstetrics, director of neonatology, head of the genetics institute and a senior social worker.

A gynecologist will be permitted to refer women seeking an abortion of a fetus older than 23 weeks directly to the regional committee, instead of first going through the local committee. In addition, the regional committee will hear cases involving younger fetuses in which local committees were unable to reach a consensus. Women may apply to a regional committee in any of the hospitals, not only that closest to her home.

In 1993, local abortion committees authorized 16,149 abortions.

Orthodox groups quit AZM over call for religious pluralism

HAIM SHAPIRO

AMERICAN Orthodox Zionist movements this weekend suspended their membership in the American Zionist Movement (AZM) to protest a resolution calling for religious pluralism in Israel passed by the AZM convention last week.

The resolution called for the "government and Knesset of Israel to extend full freedom of religion to all Jews in Israel and equal treatment to all movements and ideologies reflected in the American Zionist Movement."

The resolution had been presented by ARZA and MER-KAZ, the Zionist groups of the Reform and Conservative movements, over the opposition of the Orthodox groups. Following its passage, Amit Women, Emunah Women, and the Religious Zionists of America announced they were suspending their membership in AZM.

ship in AZM.

The three groups said that unless this "pernicious resolution" is withdrawn, they had no choice but to withdraw from the AZM.

AZM President Seymour Reich said he was disappointed, but added that the AZM could function without the three groups.

Last year, the American arm of Tsomet and the Zionist Organization of America suspended their membership in protest over AZM support of the Rabin government. Likud USA has been suspended from the body because of non-payment of dues.

The heads of Israel's Masorti Movement and the Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism welcomed the resolution, and called upon Acting Religious Affairs Minister Yitzhak Rabin to take heed of the AZM position.

Haredim protest Beersheba dig

SOME 50 haredim held a protest vigil across from an Israel Electric Corporation facility in Beersheba yesterday, following a rescue dig there that exposed Byzantine graves. Two of the protesters were arrested after they climbed over the fence surrounding the dig and began throwing stones at workers.

Amir Rosenblit

LIBI - The Fund for Strengthening Israel's Defense

Bat Dor for the LIBI Fund

This week the Bat Dor Dance Group presented a benefit performance for the LIBI Fund.

The performance was made possible through the generosity of Mrs. Batsheva de Rothschild and Ms. Jeanette Ordman. Invited to attend the performance, as a mark of appreciation for their devoted fund raising activities, were numerous Friends of the LIBI Fund, active workers, supporters and contributors. Three works were performed and were received with great enthusiasm.

For their efforts which contributed to the evening's success, the LIBI Fund extends heartfelt thanks to: Mrs. Batsheva de Rothschild, founder and director of the Bat Dor Group.

The Bat Dor dancers, Nili and Pinna of R. Flowers, 45 Pincas St., Tel Aviv, for their delightful floral arrangements.



In the picture (left to right): Maj. Gen. (Res.) Danny Matt, Chairman of the LIBI Fund; Col. Meir Blayer, Commander of the LIBI Fund, MK (Brig.-Gen. Res.) Avigdor Kahalani, Chairman of the Friends of the LIBI Fund.

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Chechen rebels hold Russians at bay in Grozny

REBEL fighters battled Russian forces room to room in buildings in central Grozny yesterday and managed to keep control of the Presidential Palace, the symbol of resistance in the Chechen capital.

Russian news agencies said in unconfirmed reports that Ovlur Dudayev, son of Chechen separatist leader Dzhokhar Dudayev, had died of wounds received in battle. They gave few details but said he was buried on Saturday.

Fighting continued in Grozny as the first planeload of emergency supplies from the United Nations landed in Vladikavkaz, just outside Chechnya, to help refugees of the five-week-old conflict.

The fighters resisting the Russian drive to crush their small southern region's campaign for independence held on to the Presidential Palace despite more

KURT SCHORK
GROZNY

of the shelling which has badly damaged the towering concrete building, their main headquarters.

Exhausted from a night of combat and covered with dust, Akhmed Kadivo, 30, led a band of fighters back from the palace along central Avturkhanov Street in the early afternoon.

"We're coming back from the palace. There was fighting all night in some of the buildings on the square. Room by room we fought the Russians. We captured about 30 prisoners. There were Russian marines fighting in some of the buildings," he said.

As Kadivo spoke, sporadic artillery fire rocked a city which is already strewn with rubble from fighting that has caused the

deaths of hundreds of Russian soldiers and Chechen fighters and civilians.

Witnesses said five people were killed yesterday morning when a mortar bomb or artillery shell slammed into a five-story building in Grozny's South Square area.

The bodies of two of the victims, middle-aged men in civilian clothes with head wounds, were laid out on the concrete floor of a community center.

At Mozdok air base in southern Russia from where Moscow is launching its operation, Russian officers acknowledged they were meeting tough resistance from Chechen independence fighters.

"It seems that those who remain in the Presidential Palace are determined to die there," an officer who declined to be identified told Reuters correspondent Anatoly Verbin.

Retired agent: Informant did not entrap Malcolm X's daughter

A FORMER FBI agent who had previously worked with Michael Fitzpatrick said Saturday that the government informant did not entrap Qubilah Bahiyah Shabazz in a plot to kill Louis Farrakhan.

"He did not set her up," said former agent Danny Scott. "He was not enthusiastic about this. It was a matter of conscience and he asked me where to go with it."

Shortly after he was allegedly contacted last July by Shabazz, the daughter of the late Malcolm X, Fitzpatrick called Scott to ask how to proceed, the retired agent said.

Scott, who retired last August, said, "Mike did not seek this. I think when it was dropped in his lap, he trusted me and dropped it in my lap, and we could not ignore it."

Fitzpatrick, 34, is the key government witness against Shabazz, who was charged Thursday with conspiring to kill Farrakhan, the Nation of Islam leader. Fitzpatrick, her former classmate at the United Nations International School in New York, is currently facing drug charges from a 1993 cocaine arrest in Minneapolis, where he was living under the

PETER PERL
WASHINGTON

name of Michael Summers, according to court records.

The nine-count indictment charges that Shabazz, then living in New York, made eight phone calls to her former classmate and traveled to Minneapolis last September to make a partial payment to have Fitzpatrick kill Farrakhan in Illinois, where the Nation is headquartered. Shabazz's lawyer, Scott Tilsen, said Fitzpatrick was paid by the government during its seven-month investigation.

Fitzpatrick, whose mother is Jewish, became involved at age 17 with the Jewish Defense League and turned government informer following his 1977 arrest in a conspiracy to bomb a Soviet bookstore in New York. He left school and entered the Federal Witness Protection Program in 1978 after he wore a hidden microphone and helped authorities foil a JDL bomb plot aimed at an Egyptian tourism office in New York.

Scott portrayed Fitzpatrick as an idealistic teenager who is being vilified as a turncoat. "Mike, I am

convinced, saved lives and some might call him a hero. He paid for it by uprooting himself from his family," said Scott, the FBI case agent during a wave of JDL bombings in the 1970s.

"It was a matter of conscience for him" to cooperate with the FBI, Scott said. He said Fitzpatrick apparently had a change of heart about participating in JDL bombings when he heard talk of targeting Boutros Boutros-Ghali, then Egyptian ambassador to the United Nations. "Mike attended school with his daughter and cared for her and didn't want anything to happen to her father."

Fitzpatrick was arrested Nov. 23, 1993, in a police raid on the apartment of his boss, a coin dealer named Harlan Rosenfield, according to court records in Minneapolis. Police said they found cocaine and \$16,500 cash in Rosenfield's apartment. Fitzpatrick is scheduled to appear in court tomorrow on a cocaine possession charge, which could carry a five-year prison term.

Qubilah Shabazz, who has been in seclusion, is scheduled to be arraigned Wednesday.

The Washington Post



Thousands of mourners line the streets of Avalon cemetery in Soweto yesterday for the funeral procession of South Africa's white Communist Party leader Joe Slovo. (Reuters)

Pope rejuvenated in triumphal passage to Manila

MANILA, Philippines (Reuters) - Pope John Paul wrapped up a triumphant visit to the Philippines yesterday by drawing the biggest crowd of his 17-year reign and rejuvenating a papacy some feared was going into decline.

Vatican officials said it was the biggest turnout yet for the pope, beating even the welcome he received when he returned to his native Poland for the first time as pontiff in 1979.

Vatican officials estimated yesterday's turnout between two and five million, but the sheer size of the crowd defied any accurate measure. It filled the massive Rizal Park, where the Mass was held, and spread for miles along wide boulevards nearby.

The 74-year-old pope, forced to cancel tours to the United States and Belgium last year after undergoing bone replacement surgery, was clearly delighted with his reception on the first stage of his four-nation tour.

He leaves today for Papua New Guinea, before going on to Australia and Sri Lanka.

Bosnian peace hopes threatened by fighting, Serb obstacles

SARAJEVO (AP) - Fighting raged in northwest Bosnia on Sunday despite a UN-brokered truce, and Bosnian Serbs continued to defy the accord by halting UN military convoys and refusing to open a land route out of Sarajevo.

A shell that may have been fired from Serbs in neighboring Croatia killed a 19-year-old girl yesterday morning at a school in Bihac, in the northwest. Another shell killed a 13-year-old girl and wounded her mother. Government radio said 11 people were wounded by dozens of shell impacts.

The shelling, plus a mortar attack on a bridge in downtown Bihac that killed five people Saturday, may have been a response to an attempt by government troops to push out of the encircled town, said

Col. Gary Coward, a UN military spokesman in Sarajevo.

Bosnian government troops appear to have seized Klokot, a village three kilometers northwest of Bihac and two kilometers east of the Croatian border, Coward said.

But the shells "were clearly targeted on the center of town, which is completely outrageous and a violation of the cease-fire agreement," said Paul Risley, another UN spokesman. "To fire on civilians in the very crowded town of Bihac, where 60,000 people live, is nothing less than murder."

The capital and most other fronts have been quiet for three weeks. But many UN officials believe this is only a pause in a war that neither side is ready to end.

Right-wing Italian party proposes declaration condemning antisemitism

CASERTA, Italy (AP) - A proposed declaration condemning antisemitism and racial purity laws was outlined yesterday before members of a party whose leaders seek to break from its fascist roots.

The sponsor, an executive at a right-leaning newspaper, plans to present the text for approval at the national conference of the National Alliance party later this month.

The proposal "explicitly and definitively condemns... each form of antisemitism even those camouflaged by the veneer of anti-Zionist propaganda and anti-Israeli diatribes," said its author, Enzo Palmesano, who directs political coverage at *Secolo d'Italia* newspaper.

The document, presented at a regional party meeting near Naples, also denounced the "shame" of anti-foreigner laws imposed by the regime of World War II-era dictator Benito Mussolini.

"The racial laws will always burn in our consciousness," said Palmesano, who plans to present the proposal for a vote at the National Alliance national congress on January 25.

Leaders of the party - which was part of ex-Premier Silvio Berlusconi's three-party coalition government - intend to use the gathering to formally cut ties with the Italian Social Movement, which grew from a neo-fascist movement after Mussolini.

The move is designed to soften the image of the right-wing National Alliance for future elections.

The party's leader, Gianfranco Fini, has met with Jewish leaders and visited memorials to Italian Jews deported to Nazi death camps.

Social Movement leaders have vowed to continue their party, which supports strict immigration laws and has attracted a following among some skinhead extremists.

Charles suspends valet who tattles about Camilla

LONDON - Prince Charles's valet has been suspended after telling a Sunday newspaper that he used to wash the heir to the throne's muddy pajamas after he sneaked out of his country home to make love to his married mistress.

A Buckingham Palace spokesman said Ken Stronach, 50, would receive full pay pending an investigation into a story in the tabloid *News of the World* alleging the 47-year-old prince had late night, open-air assignations with Camilla Parker Bowles in the grounds of the house.

The paper quoted Stronach, a long-serving royal employee, as saying: "There was mud and muck everywhere. They'd obviously been doing it in the open air."

The newspaper alleged that Stronach told them the prince used to go into the grounds of Highgrove House in the western English county of Gloucestershire to meet Camilla when his wife, Princess Diana, 33, was also staying there.

News agencies

It said that when Diana was away, Camilla, 47, stayed in the house, which is only about 25 kilometers from her home in Wiltshire, and was given a guest bedroom for appearances' sake.

"We were told to treat her as if she was the mistress of the house. It was as if the princess had never existed," Stronach was quoted as saying.

Stronach was quoted as saying that when Parker Bowles spent weekends at Highgrove, the prince neutralized the security system in his bedroom.

The system sends out beams, said Stronach, which trigger an alarm if anyone enters the room after Charles retires.

"There have been intruders before," Stronach was quoted as saying. "It is a stupid thing to do but he's blind to everything where the lady is concerned."

The valet said he went to lengths to disguise

from other staff that Mrs. Parker Bowles would slip into Charles' room during weekends at Highgrove. Stronach said he put fresh pillows on her side of the bed and changed the sheets and handed them on Charles' side to make it look as if one person had slept in the bed.

The *News of the World* coverage included a photograph said to show the prince's bedside table at Highgrove. Behind an oval-framed picture of Mrs. Parker Bowles was a rosary which Stronach said Charles got when he and Diana visited Pope John Paul II in 1985.

Another shot of Mrs. Parker Bowles purported to show Charles' son, Prince William, playing in the background.

The newspaper did not say how much it paid Stronach.

The Palace said the investigation into the story will be carried out by the prince's press secretary, Richard Aylard. Royal employees are forbidden to speak to the press.

ISRAEL LANDS ADMINISTRATION

ISRAEL LANDS ADMINISTRATION Central Region

Lease offered on Plot No. 1004 for construction of building for science-based industry, Tav.Mem.Resh Park, Rehovot - Invitation to Tender No. 11/95/Mem Resh

Bids are invited from those interested in signing a 3 year development agreement, after which the party concerned will sign a 49 year lease with an option to extend for another 49 years, for a plot, the details of which are:

Block	Part of Parcel	Plot	Approx. Area, sq.m.	Building Percentage	Minimum Price, NIS	Development Costs, NIS	Deposit, NIS
3695	70 83 87	1004	23,561	100	14,331,848	4,653,540	1,500,000

* Urban Building Plan Ales/2005/Resh Het show that the area is zoned for science based industry, and that a building of up to 5 floors may be erected, with a ground floor building percentage of 35. A basement may be built, within the outline of the building. The building percentage for the whole building is 100, this including the basement, but not including a standard shelter and parking area. 25% of the plot must be used for a garden - all in accordance with the urban building plan. 752 sq.m. of the plot is to be a private open area.

** Bids should be for the land only. In addition, the successful bidder will pay the above development costs to Rehovot Development Co. Ltd. These costs are linked to the index of building inputs for November 1994 (published on December 15, 1994).

† Not including VAT.

The Israel Lands Administration reserves the right to accept any bid, or to reject all bids, including the highest.

The tender booklet will be available from January 23, 1995, on submission of a receipt from the Post Bank for NIS100 (cash only, including VAT), for a payment into Israel Lands Administration account 0-24180-0, per booklet. The booklets will be available at the Israel Lands Administration, Central Region, 88 Derech Petah Tikva, Tel Aviv, ☎ 03-5638383, during regular working hours. A bank check or bank guarantee of 10% of the bid total should be attached to bids as deposit.

A bank guarantee or bank check for the above deposit amount must be attached to the bid.

Last date for submitting bids: March 29, 1995 (12 noon). A bid not found in the tenders box when it is opened, whatever the reason, cannot be considered.

ISRAEL LANDS ADMINISTRATION Central Region

Lease offered on Plot No. 50 for construction of building for industry and workshops, Kiryat Nardau Industrial Zone, Netanya - Invitation to Tender No. 12/95/Mem Resh

Bids are invited from those interested in signing a 3 year development agreement, after which the party concerned will sign a 49 year lease with an option to extend for another 49 years, for a plot, the details of which are:

Block	Part of Parcel	Plot	Approx. Area, sq.m.	Total Area for Registration, sq.m.	Minimum Price, NIS	Deposit, NIS
7945	5	50	25,820	30,984	10,822,630	1,100,000

* Plot No. 50 is the northern part of Temporary Parcel 53, according to Tav.Tzade.Resh.71/90.

** Urban Building Plan Gimmel/6368/Nun Tav shows that the plot is zoned for industrial construction. A 3 floor, 12 m. high building may be erected, with a building percentage per floor of 40. Alternatively, a 15 m. high building of 4 floors may be erected, with a building percentage per floor of 30, total building percentage, 120.

*** In addition to the amount paid for the land, the successful bidder will pay the development costs, in accordance with the bylaws - fees and levies, in accordance with Netanya Municipality practice.

† Not including VAT.

The Israel Lands Administration reserves the right to accept any bid, or to reject all bids, including the highest.

The tender booklet will be available from January 23, 1995, on submission of a receipt from the Post Bank for NIS100 (cash only, including VAT), for a payment into Israel Lands Administration account 0-24180-0, per booklet. The booklets will be available at the Israel Lands Administration, Central Region, 88 Derech Petah Tikva, Tel Aviv, ☎ 03-5638383, during regular working hours. A bank check or bank guarantee of 10% of the bid total should be attached to bids as deposit.

A bank guarantee or bank check for the above deposit amount must be attached to the bid.

Last date for submitting bids: March 29, 1995 (12 noon). A bid not found in the tenders box when it is opened, whatever the reason, cannot be considered.

ISRAEL LANDS ADMINISTRATION MIN. OF CONSTRUCTION AND HOUSING Jerusalem District

Lease offered on plot for construction of a commercial building, Ramot 03, Jerusalem - Invitation to Tender 2/95/Yod Mem

Bids are invited from those interested in signing a 3 year development agreement, after which the party concerned will sign a 49 year lease with an option to extend for another 49 years, for a plot, the details of which are:

Block	Parcel	Plot	Approx. Area, sq.m.	Construction Area, sq.m.	Minimum Price, NIS	Deposit, NIS
30730	17	80	423	100	209,158	25,000

* Urban Building Plan 3191 shows that a commercial building of one floor may be built, the maximum main area being 100 sq.m., in accordance with the Plan documents.

** The minimum price is the land and the development costs.

† Not including VAT.

The Israel Lands Administration reserves the right to accept any bid or to reject all bids, including the highest.

The tender booklet will be available from March 23, 1995, on submission of a receipt from the Post Bank for NIS100 (cash only, including VAT), for a payment into Israel Lands Administration account 0-24180-0, per booklet. The booklets will be available at the Israel Lands Administration, at the Israel Lands Administration, 34 Rehov Ben Yehuda, Jerusalem (12th floor), ☎ 02-224121, during regular working hours.

A bank guarantee or bank check for the above deposit amount must be attached to the bid.

Last date for submitting bids: March 30, 1995 (12 noon). A bid not found in the tenders box when it is opened, whatever the reason, cannot be considered.

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Conductor finds the best of both worlds

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

MAESTRO Asher Fisch has figured out a way to have it all—a sparkling career both in Europe and here at home.

The exuberant 37-year-old conductor is about to sign a four-year contract as the musical director of Vienna's Volksoper and as resident conductor at the city's Staatsoper.

At the same time, he has been appointed music director of the Israel Symphony Orchestra Rishon Lezion starting this fall. He will replace Noam Sheriff, who announced a year ago that he would be leaving at the end of this season.

"I definitely want to work in Israel, but to give up my European career would be suicide. In this way I can achieve the right balance and shift my career between Tel Aviv, Vienna and Berlin," said Fisch, who is currently the Kapellmeister of Berlin's Unter den Linden opera, where Daniel Barenboim is music director.

To make the move even easier, Fisch's wife, mezzo-soprano Linda Pavlovka, has also been awarded a contract as a member of the joint ensemble of both Vienna operas.

In a phone interview from his Berlin home one night last week after a rehearsal of Bloch's Jewish choral opus *Sacred Service*, which has never been performed before in that city, Fisch said he wanted "to continue working in Israel regularly, doing more than just one opera a year" here.

Last summer he conducted the New Israeli Opera production of *A Midsum-*

mer Night's Dream, and this year he is conducting the company's double bill of *Cavalleria Rusticana* and *Pagliacci*.

Fisch believes that the connection between the Rishon Lezion symphony and the NIO, for which it is the house orchestra, can only grow stronger with his appointment. "As someone coming from opera I believe I can create the right balance between ballet, opera and symphonic work for the orchestra," he said. Fisch will conduct four of the orchestra's eight subscription concerts next season as well as one opera production, the revival of *Smetana's The Bartered Bride*.

Fisch added that he was very happy with the Rishon Lezion offer because of "my close connections with the opera company and Uri Ofer [its general manager]."

Commenting on the news that Ofer had resigned following accusations of financial and management irregularities during the construction of the Tel Aviv Performing Arts Center, Fisch said he "does not want to believe this is true, and I do hope he changes his mind. He is very important for opera life in Israel and for the company."

Fisch now has to create, almost from scratch, the orchestra's next season, working almost at the very last minute.

He cannot give any details yet as to how the season will look. One thing he knows for sure, however, is that it is not going to be just a vocal season.

"That would have been very easy for me because I'm working with the best singers in the world all the time, but I prefer not to do that. I prefer the symphonic repertoire."

Fisch has nothing but praise for the musicians of the ISO, which by all accounts had a poor season last year.

"These musicians couldn't have played great in one concert and then

very badly in the next because they are bad musicians. They need a lot of work, attention and good conductors, and they will reach their true potential."

Fisch himself still has a very busy operatic career. He has just finished conducting *La Boheme* in Vienna and is currently leading performances of Wagner's *Parsifal* in Berlin. He will open the next season of the Los Angeles Music Center Opera with another Wagner opus, *The Flying Dutchman*. In between, he performs a duo piano recital with his mentor and colleague Barenboim, performing Stravinsky's *The Rite of Spring*.

Fisch returns to Israel in May to start rehearsing *Cavalleria* and *Pagliacci* at the NIO. By that time, he promises, the new season of the Israel Symphony Orchestra Rishon Lezion, the first for which he is responsible, will be finalized.

The good, the bad, and the boring

FILM REVIEW
ADINA HOFFMAN

PEACE CHRONICLES

Produced by Daoud Kuttab (Thania Productions), Ilan Ziv (Coo Coo Productions), and Amot Breuer (Tamouz Media), in association with Channel 4 UK, IKON TV of Holland, Reshet Broadcasting and Palestine TV, 104 minutes. Hebrew and Arabic dialogue.

TSahal

Directed by Claude Lanzmann. Hebrew title: *Tsahal*. 5 hours. English, Hebrew and French dialogue, with translation into all three languages.

Due to some strange alignment of the cinematic planets, I saw two documentaries about Israel last week. First, I was invited to the eastern Jerusalem premiere of an Israeli-Palestinian coproduction, *Peace Chronicles*. Then, in the less-than-festive setting of an empty movie theater, I endured all five hours of Claude Lanzmann's *Tsahal*.

Both works attempt to probe the reality of contemporary Israel. Beyond that, they are about as different as two movies could be. The former is a rough, unadorned video journal by six amateur directors, three Israelis and three Palestinians, whose spontaneous, often contradictory reactions to the first half-year of the peace process were recorded, cut and taped together to form a dynamic panorama of *The Situation*.

And as almost everyone knows, *Tsahal* is the final installment in French director Claude Lanzmann's trumpeted trilogy about the fate of the Jewish people.

After *Pourquoi Israël?* and *Shoah*, Lanzmann has motorcaded along to the subject of the Israeli army, whose every offen-

sive action he plainly believes is justified—the natural, historical response to earlier Jewish oppression, and to the Holocaust in particular. Part apologia, part lionization, the film is an aching slow chronicle of Lanzmann's VIP tours through various military facilities, interviews with important generals and well-known intellectuals, and "conversations with strapping young officers-in-training."

The Hebrew press has already pounced on the director for the ideological snow-job that is *Tsahal*. Rightfully so. Lanzmann focuses almost exclusively on the glories and hardships of the Six Day War and Yom Kippur War, with dutiful respects paid to those who suffered during the War of Attrition.

The intifada makes a guest appearance in the last hour or so, when Lanzmann hints very tentatively that the occupation might be a little bit less than rosy. Still, he seems hell-bent on ignoring the implications for the present

political situation of, say, a sympathetic interview with Arik Sharon about the triumphs of old battles.

Lebanon, meanwhile, simply disappears. Mentioned once in a passing protest by novelist David Grossman, it's a war whose messy morals just don't fit into Lanzmann's own antiquated fantasy view of the heroic sabra soldier, the ethical generals, the full moon rising over the desert, all that milk and honey. So he leaves the bothersome misadventure out.

Politics aside, it's hard to excuse Lanzmann's passive-aggressive formal technique: the stubborn insistence on visual anticlimax and the right of every monologist to ramble on unedited in numbing technical detail. Granted, there's something (sort of) admirable about the director's gargantuan will, but there's also something self-defeating about his determination to remain, at all costs, so severely serious.

The movie is boring, to begin with, and there's an element of sham involved in its inching pace. Slowness, length, exceeding dryness—all the attributes that are meant to indicate the close attention Lanzmann is paying to his subject seem in the end to indicate mainly how slow, long and dry the movie really is.

The same lingering approach to landscape that he used so powerfully in *Shoah* seems merely automatic here. At its core, the Holocaust movie was all about emptied-out places, about the eerie peacefulness of a modern Polish pond, or the cool geometry of a German subway stop. The settings also provided a bizarrely neutral counterpoint to the range of views represented.

In *Tsahal*, Lanzmann doesn't bother much with clashing outlooks (toward the end, he does throw in a few for good measure, or maybe to keep us awake). Despite the range of opinions famously held by his interviewees, they all sound similar, like

they're answering a Claude Lanzmann question. As we listen to their answers, the camera glides serenely across the bare desert hills or the green peaks of the Golan or a meandering coastal road, and the picture is attractive enough, but it doesn't do anything to what's being said, except call to mind a host of dangerous generalities about "Our Bond With The Land." For this you can stare out the car window.

THERE ISN'T space here for a full appreciation of *Peace Chronicles*; suffice it to say that as static, pretentious and single-minded as Lanzmann's film is, the video journal is not.

Edgy and crowded, the movie doesn't just rotate narrative styles as it follows its six diarists from the time of the White House ceremony through this last summer: it rotates galaxies. Yehoshua Zamir, a kibbutznik who came years ago from the US, confides to the camera about his son who died in Lebanon; Sahar As-

mail charts the life of a family in Dehaishe; Einat Kefach talks passionately about the difficulties of daily life in her settlement, Ofra.

In less than two hours, we meet and come to feel in some strong way for a range of personalities—the angry men-children of Gaza, a group of flirty Israeli high-school seniors, a young Palestinian woman whose husband was accused of killing her brother, an alleged collaborator.

Each of these stories is absorbing in its own right, related in a raw, straight-ahead style. But the real energy of *Peace Chronicles* comes from the points at which these perspectives—and our own—collide. The most celebrated documentary filmmaker in the world could learn something from the fresh and varied perspectives brought to light by this group of unknown beginners.

(*Peace Chronicles* will be screened later this month at the Tel Aviv and Jerusalem Cinematheques.)

Daniel Oren may return for festival

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

OPERA lovers who were frustrated when Daniel Oren left last week without conducting even half of the New Israeli Opera performances of *Nabucco*, may yet be able to enjoy the maestro's musicianship later this season.

Negotiations are progressing with Oren regarding a possible return to the country for the closing event of the coming Israel Festival this June, a reliable source confirmed last week.

If the project materializes, it is bound to be one of the grandest operatic productions in this country's history.

Last year there were rumors that England's Royal Opera House Covent Garden would bring its production of Bizet's *Carmen* to the Israel Festival. The project was scrapped over insufficient funds.

Although the British Council was willing to sponsor the event, it was said that the festival itself was unwilling to put up a reasonable amount of money.

This year it seems the festival is much more interested and the Covent Garden *Carmen* might indeed happen here.

This famous production has been shown on local television. It is directed by renowned Spanish actress/director Nuria Espert, and there are a few flamenco numbers choreographed by Christina Hoyos, who expressed an interest in joining the production here. But the major reason to see this *Carmen* is Maria Ewing's mesmerizing performance in the title role.

The production is tentatively planned for Jerusalem's Sultan's Pool: it will come from London complete with sets, costumes, chorus and soloists. The Israeli forces involved will be a children's chorus and the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra.

If the negotiations with Oren fail, the conductor will be either Jeffrey Tate or Jacques Delacote, according to the source.

Late-night's Letterman to host Academy Awards

DAVID Letterman will host the 67th annual Academy Awards, and the glib, wacky king of TV's late-night talk-show scene promises that his Oscar show won't run into overtime.

"We're changing the format this year. The whole show will be 40 minutes long, and we'll be giving away cars!" Letterman joked in a statement released last week.

The show, presented by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, is frequently lampooned for its length and occasionally tedious production numbers.

The ABC television network will broadcast the March 27 show live from the Shrine Auditorium in Los Angeles.

Whoopi Goldberg, host of last year's ceremonies, was unable to repeat because she will be working on a film. Billy Crystal hosted the show for five years before Goldberg.

Perlman's violin teacher dies

VIOLINIST Josef Gingold, who trained Itzhak Perlman, among others, died late last week, days after suffering an apparent heart attack. He was 85. He was a distinguished professor emeritus at the Indiana University School of Music.

"He was certainly one of the most influential teachers of violin in our time," said Indiana professor and music writer Peter Jacobi. "That gives him a form of immortality. The products of his teaching genius will continue to make music for a couple of generations."

Born in 1909 in Brest-Litovsk, Russia, Gingold immigrated to the US with his family at age 11. As a young man, he returned to Europe to study with famed Belgian violinist and compo-

ser Eugene Ysaie. Gingold later played for Broadway shows and in the NBC Radio Orchestra, under the direction of maestro Arturo Toscanini, and was concertmaster of the Detroit Symphony and the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra.

He taught at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland and the Meadowmount School of Music in New York, where his students included Perlman and Zukerman.

Gingold co-founded and judged the International Violin Competition in Indianapolis and led master classes at more than 25 universities and conservatories.

In 1960, he went to Indiana University, where he maintained a heavy schedule of teaching until late last year. (AP)

Oprah: I smoked crack cocaine

POPULAR TV talk show host Oprah Winfrey admitted last week she smoked crack cocaine during her twenties, saying "it is my life's great big secret."

She said in a program dealing with drug abuse that her problem

was not the drug itself but that she was "addicted to the man" who introduced her to drugs.

"This is probably one of the hardest things I've ever said," Winfrey said fighting back tears and pausing to compose herself. (Reuters)

Beethoven specialist will try to convey Mozart's message

WHAT if you were to give a master class and no-body played?

It happened to Claude Frank on his first visit here in 1974, so he played a Beethoven sonata and then spent the next two hours criticizing his own performance.

"Isaac Stern brought me to give master classes to students and teachers," explains the 69-year-old pianist, "but nobody knew me, so nobody played. Why offer yourself to criticism by an unknown?"

The next day there were plenty of students, and there have been ever since. Master classes are an integral part of Frank's schedule, and he's been back almost every year since then.

Frank relaxes on the sofa in the foyer of the Wix Auditorium where he's been practicing for three hours, while technicians set up for a rock concert around him. "Oh, you don't know how often that happens," he says, smiling. He's always been an optimist, he says, "but I didn't know that it shows. Maybe it's because artists deal with such beautiful things, so that maybe we're protected against realities."

This visit he's playing a Mozart piano concerto with the Israel Camerata Rehovot and giving master classes at Mishkenot Sha'ananim. He comes "because there's something very special about Israeli audiences," he says in a still faintly German-inflected English. "Music is so much a part of people's lives here. It's a necessity, even a priority, and that comes across."

Frank has friends here from his school days in Nuremberg, and from the Habonim group to which he belonged. He was only seven when Hitler came to power, and he remembers it vividly.

He tells the story of the time his father, a prominent lawyer, parked his car in a no-parking zone at the courthouse. The porter approached him.

"Now you know you can't park

there, Dr. Frank," the porter said.

Frank Senior looked at the swastika flapping on the courthouse roof. "As long as that rag flies up there I'll park wherever I want," he retorted.

With the help of a neighborhood policeman, he escaped Germany soon after the 1933 elections that brought Hitler to power.

Two years later the whole family was in Brussels. Young Frank was sent to study piano in Paris under the great Artur Schnabel. With the fall of France the family fled to Spain, and it was there, at a concert in the Brazilian ambassador's house, that the US consul heard the young musician and arranged for his visa to the US.

Today Frank lives in Manhattan with his wife, pianist Lilian Kallir, and their only child, violinist Pamela Frank.

HELEN KAYE

"I would have been very disappointed had she chosen not to become a musician," he says candidly. Smiling, he adds: "But that she chose the violin over the piano was just the right measure of rebellion."

Frank recalls falling asleep to chamber music as a child in his parents' house, and adds: "Pamela used to go to sleep to the Brahms lullaby which Lilian played whenever she was at home. It was an unshakable ritual."

Father and daughter frequently play recitals together. "Musically speaking she's on a tremendously high level," he says. "Musically she's as old as I am. I learn from her."

Frank is regarded as a Beethoven specialist, especially of the 32 sonatas, which he's recorded five

times. "I love them," he says simply. "In them, as in all music, the really important message is behind the notes, like reading between the lines of a poem. You have to be able to hear that meaning and then work on it. With Beethoven that's possible because, profound as he is, he's also accessible."

"You can't always do that with Mozart, where grasping the meaning is sometimes a matter of luck, like this concerto I'm playing. I always hope that it comes across," he ends, smiling.

The concerts are at the Tel Aviv Museum tomorrow, and in Holon and Netanya on Wednesday and Thursday.

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EDITORIAL OFFICES AND ADMINISTRATION The Jerusalem Post Building, P.O. Box 81, Ramat Gan, Jerusalem (91000)
Telephone 315666. Telex 26121. Fax 389527. CIRCULATION - 315610. Fax 389017. ADVERTISING - 315608, 315637-40. Fax 388408. TEL AVIV: 5 Rehov Hamasger, P.O. Box 28398 (61283) Telephone 6390333. Fax 6390277. HAIFA: 19 Nordau, Hader Hacamel, Telephone 627124. Published daily, except Saturday, in Jerusalem, Israel by The Palestine Post Ltd. Printed by The Jerusalem Post Press in Jerusalem. Registered at the G.P.O. © The Jerusalem Post 1994. Reproduction, or storage in a retrieval system, or any other form, is prohibited without permission. Editors: 1932-1955 GERSHON AGRON, 1955-1974 TED LURIE, 1974-1975 LEA BEN DOR, 1975-1989 ARI RATH and ERWIN FRENKEL, 1990-1992 N. DAVID GROSS

The timing of the rocket

THE anti-tank LAW rocket fired into a Jewish apartment building in Hebron yesterday, one of 10 training rockets stolen three months ago from an army depot in the Negev, caused little damage. Being unarmed, these rockets cannot explode; they can only cause impact damage. But the LAW could have been lethal had it hit a room full of people. One can only hope that the other rockets known to be in terrorist hands will do no more harm.

Yet it would not be wrong to call the firing an escalation of the "armed struggle" against Israel. This is not because the weapon itself is more dangerous than a Kalashnikov, but because it is a reminder that no convenient "separation" between Israelis and Arabs - a favorite goal of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin - is possible. An electronic fence can make it difficult, though certainly not impossible, for terrorists to infiltrate. But no fence can stop rockets. And it is only a small step from the relatively harmless unarmed LAW to the lethal Katyushas and Sagers used in Lebanon.

True, the army's presence in Hebron did not prevent the smuggling of rockets into the town's casbah. But at this point the army can still impose a curfew, conduct searches, and keep the terrorists who fired the rocket on the run. It is also unlikely that terrorists will deploy more dangerous weapons as long as the army is there. On the other hand, if the army withdraws from the major population centers, as the Declaration of Principles requires, it will be virtually impossible to prevent the deployment of far more destructive weapons anywhere in Judea, Samaria and Gaza.

Once the Palestinian Authority builds a port

in Gaza and airports in areas under its jurisdiction, Israeli control over the kind of arms the Palestinians receive will be virtually nonexistent. Concomitantly, the army's ability to deter and punish such actions will be severely limited. As in Lebanon, it will be reduced to firing back with artillery and mortars. And since every major Israeli population center will be within the range of rockets in Palestinian hands, Israel's vulnerability will be much greater than it is on the Lebanese border.

Of course, Israel can always inflict much greater damage on Arab towns than the terrorists can inflict on Israeli centers. As one advocate of Israeli withdrawal once said, the distance from Tel Aviv to Kalkilya is exactly the same as from Kalkilya to Tel Aviv.

But it is doubtful that Israel's far superior fire power and its unquestionable ability to destroy Arab towns will serve as a deterrent. On the contrary. Those who want to cause Israel international discomfort and thus force it to be on the political defensive and make further concessions will be all too happy to have Israel cause the death of civilians by shelling newly-independent Arab towns. Palestinian terrorists do not care about the civilian casualties their actions cause any more than the Hizbullah does.

The timing of the LAW firing may, then, be fortuitous. It should make the government think carefully about "redeployment." No matter how stringent the safeguards may be, and even if the army retains control of all the roads of Judea and Samaria after evacuating the towns, it will be impossible to prevent the arming of terrorists with weapons which now they can only dream about.

Beduin rights and the law

ISRAEL justly claims that lands designated as state property can be either used by the government or leased or sold for private construction. Unless previous private ownership can be proved, and if no one has ever cultivated the land, the government should do with it as it sees fit.

But there is a special problem with the large tracts of land used for grazing by Beduin, which is compounded by a conflict within the Beduin community over its traditional way of life. For many of the younger generation, the nomad's life in desert tents has lost its appeal. Young Beduin, many of whom have served in the army with distinction, prefer to live in housing units with modern facilities in urban areas. The government, with a commendable desire to bring the Beduin into the 20th century, has decided to encourage this trend by building an infrastructure and dwellings in the Negev and the Galilee.

But there are still tribes and clans that prefer the traditional life-style. Unfortunately, the government - needing the land on which their sheep have been grazing - does not always provide them with appropriate alternatives.

The Abu Kardud clan is one such example. Evacuated from its traditional area in Eshelom in the Negev five years ago, it has been staging a demonstration on the site of its old grazing land. Over the weekend, the protesters agreed to evacuate the place on condition that Housing Minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer keep his promise to provide them an area fit for agricultural cultivation within two weeks.

In another case in the Negev, a 15-year old Beduin claim was brought to court. Judge Habib Amer felt the law forced him to rule against the Beduin. But he also appealed to the government to be especially considerate of their plight.

"The Beduin minority in Israel," he said, "is part of Israeli society which must never be severed from it. Their contribution to the state, both in the security sphere and in other areas, is well known. That is why I appeal to all government bodies and agencies to do whatever they can, and as early as possible, to find a reasonable and satisfactory solution, even if it is not within the strictures of the law, to the location and housing problem of the Beduin."

It is an appeal the government must heed.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

STOP THE MADNESS

Sir, - In 1983, 241 innocent American soldiers paid with their lives for an attempt (not thought through) by our nation's leaders to intercede in volatile Middle Eastern affairs. They were targeted by a terrorist suicide bomber who was willing to give his life in order to end the existence of young, unsuspecting American men and women serving at their supreme commander's request, in Lebanon.

How sad that their sacrifice has apparently taught us nothing. President Clinton, against the advice of numerous military and security experts, is attempting to broker a so-called peace treaty between Syria and Israel, by guaranteeing to station US troops in the Israeli Golan Heights, again in harm's way, only 50 km. from the world's largest terrorist bases in Damascus and Lebanon's Bekaa Valley.

There are many inherent dangers in utilizing US troops as a bargaining chip so as to facilitate the transfer of the strategic Golan away from Israel to Syria, for mere paper promises of peace. President Clinton, in the face of seriously dropping popularity polls, has ignored the consequences of such actions and has actively discouraged full disclosure and congressional scrutiny into his plans. He has made this a priority project, no doubt to assure his place in history, as "the" peacemaker of

modern times. Now it has been leaked that there is talk of \$5 billion of US tax dollars being offered to the participants to further sweeten the deal.

This plan is irresponsible on many different levels, not the least of which is exposing naive defenders of American values to life-threatening dangers from terrorist attacks while, at the same time, draining funds that can best be used elsewhere. Yet, the world must be reminded that Israeli and American Jews are not asking US soldiers to serve as live targets in a buffer zone for Israel. In reality, it is only President Clinton in cahoots with the immediate supporters of Prime Minister Rabin who are the prime motivating forces; the rest of us know the long-range consequences of such actions.

Sadly, the White House, and the Prime Minister's Office, do not care about your or my opinion on this most grievous of issues. Yet our voice still can make the difference. Only if the Jews of Israel actively seek their brethren within the US to form a coordinated effort, can we together be successful and stop this madness in the name of peace from progressing and thereby, God willing, save more innocent lives from paying the price of ignorance.

BRUCE M. PORTNOY
Buffalo Grove, Illinois.

BIZARRE INCIDENT

Sir, - Your January 5 AP report entitled "Man cuts out his own eye" compels us to protest. As American citizens living here in Jerusalem for the past six months, we are dismayed at the frequency with which bizarre minor incidents in America are published in your newspaper.

Israel, as we all know, has its problems with its portrayal in the

American press. Israelis already get a distorted view of America through TV and movies. Is it your intent to add to this distortion?

There is a growing rift between American Jews and Israelis. Responsible press should, as a matter of policy, work to bridge this gap.

JOAN AND ROBERT GOLDSTEIN
Jerusalem (Tampa, Florida).

SOVIET JEWS REMEMBER

Sir, - Notably missing from the long list of keynote speakers and dignitaries at the Jackson-Vanik Commemoration was any representative of the late Rabbi Meir Kahane and his Jewish Defense League. Their ferocious attacks on Soviet diplomats and Soviet interests in the early days of the struggle for Soviet Jewish immigration put the story on page one of the international press.

So worried was the Soviet government that it produced a film *JDL Zionist Hooligans*, which was mandatory viewing for all Russian Jews. So mandatory in fact, that Russian Jews waited hours in the freezing weather to see it two or three times! Young Jews and this rabbi were battling for us in the streets of New York and elsewhere. It gave us hope to continue.

Most Russian Jews never forgot the work of Rabbi Kahane and the JDL. Why has the Zionist Forum? LEV MARKOVITCH (formerly of Minsk) Jerusalem.

HEAD LICE

Sir, - Miriam Gardner ("A law to lick the house," January 3) is rightly concerned about the prevalence of head-lice infestation in Israel. Something needs to be done, but please don't support the cruel and impractical policy of sending infested children home from school.

Lice are unpleasant and there is still a stigma attached to being infested. Being sent home from school will result in an even more damaging stigma for the child. It would be far better to inaugurate and/or support an educational program by which parents, teachers and nurses are taught by experts the best and safest methods to prevent head-lice infestation in children.

JACQUELINE MILLER
Jerusalem.

OLEG 95



Unholy collaboration

ARIEL SHARON

THE funeral procession slowly wound its way up the hillside, as thousands marched behind Ofra's Felix's coffin last Sunday. There was the silence of death. There were no sounds of sobbing, not a voice was heard. A hushed self-control pervaded the atmosphere.

The mourners' faces reflected decision and determination. From time to time, someone would shoot a glance toward Nablus, the source of the evil, then gaze tenderly at Mount El-El and Mount Gerizim, shrouded in bluish mist. Terrible pain fused with astounding beauty.

Most of the marchers were young. Many were born and raised on the hills of Judea and Samaria. I looked into their faces and understood that it was the end of an era.

No longer was there any division between moderates and extremists in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, confronting the collaboration between the government and PLO murderers, against Jews.

The next day, wild Arab demonstrations against the settlements were headed on by leftists, MKs and ministers. The government gave in and froze construction work. Perhaps it had been planned all along: inciting the Arabs to create a pretext for ending the construction.

Early Tuesday morning, the army forcibly evacuated a group of Jews who had assembled at the spot where Ofra Felix was murdered. A caravan placed there was demolished.

In the evening, the army issued an order to stop work and evacuate Jewish land within the perimeter of Elkana, on the demand of Arabs from the village of Zawiye, known supporters of Hamas, against

ter they rioted.

Collaboration between the PLO and the government of Israel against Jews goes on.

ON TUESDAY afternoon, eight Labor and Meretz MKs came to Jerusalem to meet with ministers in Arafat's government. They discussed ways to combat the settlers' building and enlarging of their settlements.

In effect, it was incitement to murder Jews, carried out over a neighborly cup of coffee. This is

In siding with the PLO, our leaders have erased the line between moderates and extremists in the territories.

a very serious business, verging on treason.

But it was nothing new; they've always done it.

In the '20s and '30s, the Communists, mostly Jews, incited Arabs to slaughter other Jews. And in the '40s, people from the left handed Jewish fighters over to the British.

And the left, including the Labor Party, helped the PLO during the war in Lebanon.

Arafat's people described the massive demonstrations in Tel Aviv as "our last hope" (as cited in the Knesset on September 22, 1982). Labor leaders made harsh accusations against Israel to Arab

diplomats. Their remarks were found recorded in Beirut (and quoted in the Knesset's Foreign Affairs and Defense committee at the end of September 1982).

For years, leftists from Meretz and Labor traveled abroad creating contacts with PLO headquarters, giving guidance on how to work against Israeli governments.

Perhaps it really would be good to have an investigation: the GSS could hand over the material it has, and those who aided and abetted the enemy would finally be punished.

On Tuesday evening, the car belonging to Arafat's buddy Mohammed Dahlan, head of the Palestinian "security service" in Gaza, blocked the way of a bus taking children from Netzarim home. He and four other armed men tried to board the bus, cursing and spitting all the while, and brandishing their weapons. Israeli soldiers escorting the bus didn't stop them running about.

The objects of Dahlan's threats were children, and the weapon he brandished at them was one he had received from the Israeli security establishment.

On Wednesday, after a wild demonstration in Samaria, Israel again declared an end of construction work in the settlements, hinting that construction around Jerusalem would be reexamined.

And Mohammed Dahlan, that "expert" in dealing with Jewish children, and Amoun al-Hindi, responsible for the massacre of Jewish athletes in Munich, received "VIP passports" exempting them from security checks on our highways.

The writer, a Likud MK, is a former defense minister.

Double standard

MIKE LITWIN

I turned on the TV recently just before the 11 o'clock news, and saw something that, frankly, astonished me.

On prime-time TV, in a land we call America, I saw actor Dennis Franz's naked behind. This isn't something, by the way, I particularly wish to see so close to bedtime. In fact, I don't want to see it near lunch, either.

And yet, from what I'm told, Franz's derriere is a prime-time staple on the highly regarded *NYPD Blue*.

On this particular night, Franz was joined in the shower by a woman whose backside, at least to this eye, was more viewer friendly. In any case, with water falling over the two bodies, one

The truth about American sex education

as naked as the other, the woman began to scrub Franz in a way you never saw on, say, *Make Room for Daddy*.

Now, I want you to hold this thought as we segue to Joycelyn Elders, who was until recently surgeon general before they stripped her of her epaulettes because she dared utter the word masturbation.

To me, you can't take anybody who dresses up in that silly surgeon general's uniform seriously. It looks like a cross between the Salvation Army and an Eagle Scout.

Nevertheless, people did take Elders seriously, so seriously that eventually they got her fired.

Elders' problem was that she thought - in a society where too much sexual activity among teens is a national health crisis - that her job included talking honestly about sex, even the kind you have alone.

She thought information was a good thing. It was children having children she thought was a bad thing.

In summation, Franz wins an Emmy and makes millions for being naked on TV; Elders gets fired because she advocates talking to youngsters about things like condoms and masturbation.

We've learned an important lesson here, boys and girls: You can watch sex on TV.

You can rent hard-core sex at the video store.

You can see sex simulated on music videos.

You can see famous people (like Patti Davis and Sly Stallone) naked on magazine covers.

You can do everything, in fact, but talk about sex.

Americans are clearly a nation obsessed with the topic. Polls on sex can become front-page news for days. Millions of magazines are sold as informational guides as to who's doing what with whom. There's even a Merchant Ivory movie coming out about Thomas Jefferson's supposedly kinky love life.

THE ARGUMENT many use against sex education in the schools is that teaching sex promotes sex. I'm not sure the argument works.

For example, schools teach kids French, and I don't see the malls jammed with French-speaking teens. Schools teach them physics. You see any illicit physics going on?

In fact, the stuff that schools try hardest to impart - like reading and adding - apparently hasn't taken hold with a great number of young people.

The truth about sex is that it's everywhere anyone looks. And anybody who thinks that teens aren't entirely familiar with the M-word - once described by Woody Allen as sex with someone you love - should think again.

Maybe Americans have forgotten how they learned about sex, about how their parents couldn't quite bring themselves to explain it and just handed them a book. It was a book that got passed around to friends, with the dirty parts underlined, in case anyone missed them.

At look at the statistics on teenage pregnancy make it clear that Americans aren't doing much of a job teaching about sex.

Maybe I'm old-fashioned, but I'd prefer to see young people talking about it than actually doing it.

(Baltimore Sun)

Stalling is the worst way

SUSAN HATTIS ROLEF

inevitable Israeli withdrawal from the territories and the establishment of a Palestinian political entity (hopefully confederated with Jordan), would come about gradually.

The expectation was that this would give the Palestinian pragmatists time to establish themselves effectively, and the Israeli

stopping the process. But the government's eagerness is much less evident.

There are excuses: The authority hasn't taken firm action against the terrorists; it hasn't got the economy in the autonomy moving; it is acting more like a military dictatorship than the embryo of a democracy.

Under the circumstances, it would be perfectly legitimate for the government to feel that its hopes have been dashed, and to decide that the process must be terminated.

But it isn't doing that. It is doing the worst thing it could do under the circumstances - stalling.

Most members of the government are as aware today as they were over a year ago that without further progress with the Palestinians (and the Syrians), the peace process will come to a standstill, and all the achievements already made will melt away. They thus have no alternative but to continue on the path they have chosen.

On this path, the settlers' activities are a serious obstacle, and it must be removed. This is an issue on which there can be no compromise. The path is narrow, and an abyss yawns on either side.

If the government really believes in what it is doing, it must take some action instead of standing by and giving the impression of trying to square a circle.

There's one thing the government could learn from the settlers: single-mindedness

public time to start seeing the fruits of peace and to come to terms with the prospect of dismantling settlements.

BUT SINCE the signing of the Oslo agreement, the shortcomings of this strategy have become painfully clear. Chiefly, it has given opponents of the agreement on both sides - Hamas and other Palestinian rejectionists and the Jewish settlers - several years to sabotage the agreement. Both are doing a brilliant job.

The Palestinian Authority is eager to march forward, despite the obstacles. That is self-evident. It has nothing to gain from

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The writer is a political scientist.

The Jerusalem Post
Double
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MIKE LITVIN

The truth about
American sex
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Vol. CXLIV—No. 49,942
Sunday, January 15, 1995

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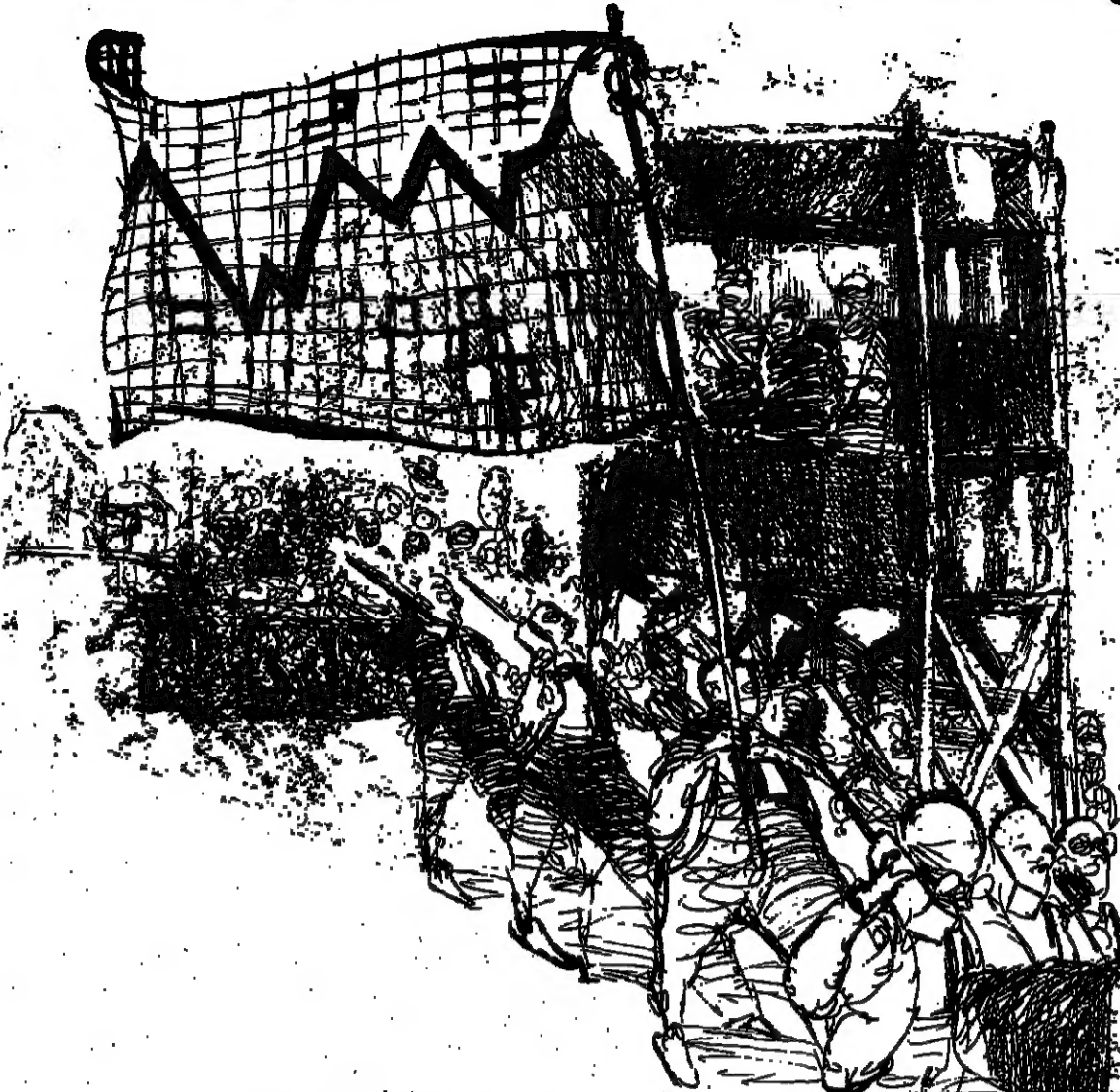
The New York Times

Weekly Review

Printed and distributed
in Israel
in association with
The Jerusalem Post

Passing the Buck

Foreign Relations: Money Talks, Policy Walks



War. Peace. Aid. All Issues Are Trade Issues.

By DAVID E. SANGER

WASHINGTON
JUST hours after the Senate confirmed Robert E. Rubin as Secretary of the Treasury last week, he received an immediate full-immersion lesson in what life is like these days sitting under the giant portrait of Alexander Hamilton. Rather than arm-wrestle with Newt Gingrich over the Administration's forthcoming budget, or shoot his signature over to the Bureau of Engraving for inclusion on every new dollar bill, he spent endless hours on the telephone to capitals around the world, trying to keep the United States' biggest neighbor, Mexico, from going down the tubes.

Mr. Rubin's task was to out-psyche currency speculators and nervous investors the way American policy-makers once tried to out-psyche the Soviet military: Make elaborate and very public plans for coming to an ally's defense in hopes of deterring all attacks. In this case, the plans were for loan guarantees for Mexico, stitched together Thursday night at the White House by Mr. Rubin, President Clinton, Mr. Gingrich and other Republican leaders, and the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Alan Greenspan.

It is still unclear whether they accomplished enough to keep Mexico's currency crisis from turning into a nightmare: wild inflation and political instability on America's southern border, an influx of more illegal immigrants, and rattled markets in other booming but developing economies from Brazil to Indonesia. But whether the plan works or not, Mr. Rubin, a former co-chairman of Goldman Sachs & Company, was already engaged in a new age of American foreign policy, in which Treasury, Commerce and the United States Trade Representative take the lead in managing many of America's most strategic relationships and the State Department focuses on the Middle East and the current hot spot (maybe Port-au-Prince, maybe Grozny).

"Everyone's been saying for a long time that foreign policy is becoming economic, but like everything it's taken a while for the message to sink in around here," the former Treasury Secretary, Lloyd Bentsen, said just before he left town last month. "It just shows you how important the economic issues are internationally, and that's a situation Secretaries of State don't work at very much."

The job of Treasury Secretary has permanently changed, Mr. Bentsen argues, and the result is that it has virtually merged with the job of Secretary of State. In a number of recent interviews, he told about turning Boris Yeltsin around on issues of Russian aid, pressing top Japanese officials to change their tax policies in an effort to spur more imports, cajoling Latin American leaders to speed the pace of reform.

Mr. Rubin may not be quite as tightly focused on his mission abroad; during his largely pro forma Senate confirmation hearing, he talked a good deal about job retraining, capital gains taxes and budgetary prudence. But the fact is that domestic fiscal policy is

Continued on page 2

Global Concerns? Not in Congress.

By ELAINE SCIOFINO

WASHINGTON
CALL it a sign of the times. Years ago, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was the most prestigious panel on Capitol Hill; Presidents courted its chairmen and senators with presidential aspirations maneuvered for years, even decades, to get a seat.

But after last November's election, the rush was away from the committee; the Senate Majority Leader, Bob Dole himself, had to step in and twist the arms of four Republican freshmen to fill vacant seats.

The decline of the committee as a forum for airing deep thoughts and challenging White House policy began some years ago, but it has accelerated since the Republicans captured Congress in November.

For one thing, few senators from the Republican majority want to tangle (or even serve) with the new chairman, Senator Jesse Helms, the North Carolinian with an exceedingly conservative agenda of his own.

But a more fundamental reason is that foreign policy in the new Republican Congress is being shaped more by financial pressures at home and a scarcity of money for projects

abroad than by lofty notions of statecraft and geopolitics.

Mitch McConnell, the new chairman of the powerful Senate subcommittee responsible for foreign aid, abandoned the Foreign Relations Committee for the Appropriations Committee two years ago. "The difference between us and them is we're shooting with real bullets," he explained. "We spend the real money."

More to the point, they decide what projects not to fund.

The Kentucky senator has already introduced a sweeping foreign aid bill that would slash foreign aid by 20 percent and abolish three cold war creations — the agencies that administer foreign aid, monitor arms control developments and disseminate information about the United States to the rest of the globe.

In other words, the real action in Congress these days is not in crafting a larger global vision to rival that of the White House. So many of the Republicans who are taking the legislative reins seem to be saying: Why bother?

This approach dovetails with a traditional Republican view: that members of Congress should not challenge the President's constitutional power to make foreign policy.

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Iranian Big Bang

Israel frets about a nuclear
Mideast. Who
frets about Israel?

By Clyde Haberman

3

Something to Die For

When Chechens tie ribbons to
their guns, the color is green.

By Michael Specter

3

Unhappy Anniversary

It's 50 years since
Germany was Nazi.

By Stephen
Kinzer

2

The Shabazzes and Farrakhan

The Keepers of Malcolm's Flame

By PAUL DELANEY

THE arrest of Malcolm X's daughter last week in an alleged plot to kill Louis Farrakhan again points up a fundamental paradox of the fiery Black Muslim minister's leadership: while he seeks to be foremost among numerous claimants to Malcolm's mantle, he remains tainted by the suspicion that he was a party to the same man's demise.

That paradox stems not only from Mr. Farrakhan's striking rise to prominence in the Nation of Islam but also the influential role of Malcolm's survivors as the keeper of his legacy.

The family's role was thrust into the glare of publicity on Thursday with the arrest in Minneapolis of Qubilah Bahiyah Shabazz, Malcolm's 34-year-old daughter, on Federal charges of trying to hire a hit man to kill Mr. Farrakhan, once a disciple and later a bitter rival of Malcolm. The family's stature now seems under challenge, hinging on how well the charges stick; there are already many claims that Ms. Shabazz's accuser is a Government informer with a history of entrapping people, and that he set her up.

Ms. Shabazz's mother and Malcolm's widow, Paul Delaney is chairman of the University of Alabama's journalism department.



Malcolm X in 1963

Betty Shabazz, has come to the defense of her daughter, as have, in something of a surprise, many Black Muslims.

It has been Dr. Shabazz, an administrator at Medgar Evers College in Brooklyn, who has promoted the charge that Mr. Farrakhan was involved in her husband's death. Over the years, Dr. Shabazz has also been in the middle of disputes between others who have staked a claim to Malcolm's legacy. In 1991, she was a consultant to Spike Lee as he directed the film "X," on Malcolm's life. Mr. Lee faced demonstrators led by the poet Amiri Baraka who said they were afraid the filmmaker would taint Malcolm's legacy.

"Just because Spike Lee is doing a film doesn't mean he owns Malcolm," Dr. Shabazz said at the time. But many others have laid claim to Malcolm. His speeches, autobiography and biographies are still popular, rap artists use his words in songs, young people, including whites, wear caps and T-shirts bearing the initial X and his sayings. His works are invoked by radicals and conservatives, including the Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas.

Through it all, the family remains the keeper of the flame (Malcolm X and Betty Shabazz had six daughters). And so Dr. Shabazz's accusation

Continued on page 4

The World

Germany's Awful Anniversary

By STEPHEN KINZER

FOR reasons that all can understand, modern Germany looks toward the future much more enthusiastically than it looks at the past. This is one of the world's most successful societies. With its future bright and its recent history shadowed by enormous horrors, it is no wonder that Germans confront the past as seldom as possible. For the next few months, however, they will be forced to.

This period will mark the 50th anniversary of the final months of World War II, and hardly a week will go by without a commemoration of one sort or another. The culmination will come on May 8, the 50th anniversary of the final defeat of Nazi Germany by Allied armies. The federal government has not yet announced how it will mark that date.

Unwilling to wait for an announcement from Bonn, various cities and states have already announced plans for their observances. Berlin has planned an ambitious program of more than 100 public events including memorial concerts, theater productions, art displays and museum exhibitions. The surrounding state of Brandenburg has invited 1,800 former inmates of the Sachsenhausen and Ravensbrück concentration camps, many of whom have not set foot in Germany since their liberation, to a series of commemorations at the sites where the camps stood.

In Dresden, which was devastated by firebombing by the Allies in February 1945, the President of Germany, Roman Herzog, will deliver a speech despite warnings from some intellectuals that he would be wiser to stay away.

Mr. Herzog, who has been in office for less than a year, is among the growing number of Germans who believe that their country should now take a new approach to its past. Although he was born in 1934 and hence does not qualify as a representative of postwar generations, his willingness to question old taboos is one sign that many Germans are now prepared to express emotions about Nazism that are more complex than simple confessions of guilt.

"We have to develop a new way of speaking about our past," Mr. Herzog said in a

recent interview. "In no way can we lapse into silence or allow the past to be forgotten. But we must also recognize that, for example, my sons, who are 30 and 35, were born many years after the end of the Nazi regime. With respect to this generation and those that follow, we can no longer speak about guilt, only about responsibility."

"We need to develop ways of assuring that future generations will accept their responsibility without suggesting that they share guilt for the atrocities of National Socialism."

Mr. Herzog's suggestion that Germans born after the war should feel no guilt for Nazi crimes is a subtle but important departure from the view that Nazism left an all-but-eternal curse on this country. His decision to appear in Dresden, where tens of

Fifty years after the war's end, less guilt and more openness.

thousands of civilians perished in bombings that many historians say had no military point, is being interpreted as a daring suggestion that Germans were not the only ones who committed war crimes during World War II.

For two decades after the end of World War II, Germans assiduously ignored much of the truth about the Nazi dictatorship. Schoolchildren were taught little about the horrors their parents witnessed or perpetrated. Buildings from which Nazi leaders had ruled were systematically destroyed, perhaps in the vague hope that if physical remnants of the regime were wiped away, the past might disappear with them. After the Nuremberg trials of the most senior Nazi war criminals, which were organized by the victorious Allies, many bureaucrats and industrialists who had been part of the Nazi machine were quietly welcomed back into society.

A sharp change in public attitudes came about in the late 1960's, sparked largely by young university professors and teaching assistants. Schools adopted Holocaust study

programs and confronted students with graphic films and other evidence of Nazi crimes. Professors and others with pro-Nazi pasts were forced from their jobs.

German leaders are still exceedingly nervous as they seek to find the proper path between forgetting and wallowing in endless guilt. Last year, a powerful exhibition of photos of Hitler was shown to somber audiences at a museum in Munich, but a planned showing in Berlin was canceled after complaints from Jewish groups. Later, the Berlin city government forbade construction of a museum in the underground bunkers from which Hitler directed the final phases of the war, saying there was a danger that if the bunkers were excavated they would attract neo-Nazi pilgrims.

And the state government in Bavaria, which owns the German rights to Hitler's book "Mein Kampf," rejected an attempt by a historical institute to publish the book, which has been banned in Germany for half a century.

This uncertainty over how to confront the Nazi past may account for the fact that Bonn has not yet decided how to observe the anniversary of the war's end. But many Germans were pleased by plans announced last week by British Prime Minister John Major.

The Prime Minister said that the British observances would celebrate reconciliation rather than victory, and that May 1945 would be commemorated not as the end of a war but as the beginning of half a century of peace. There will be religious services and concerts in London, Mr. Major said, but no military parade.

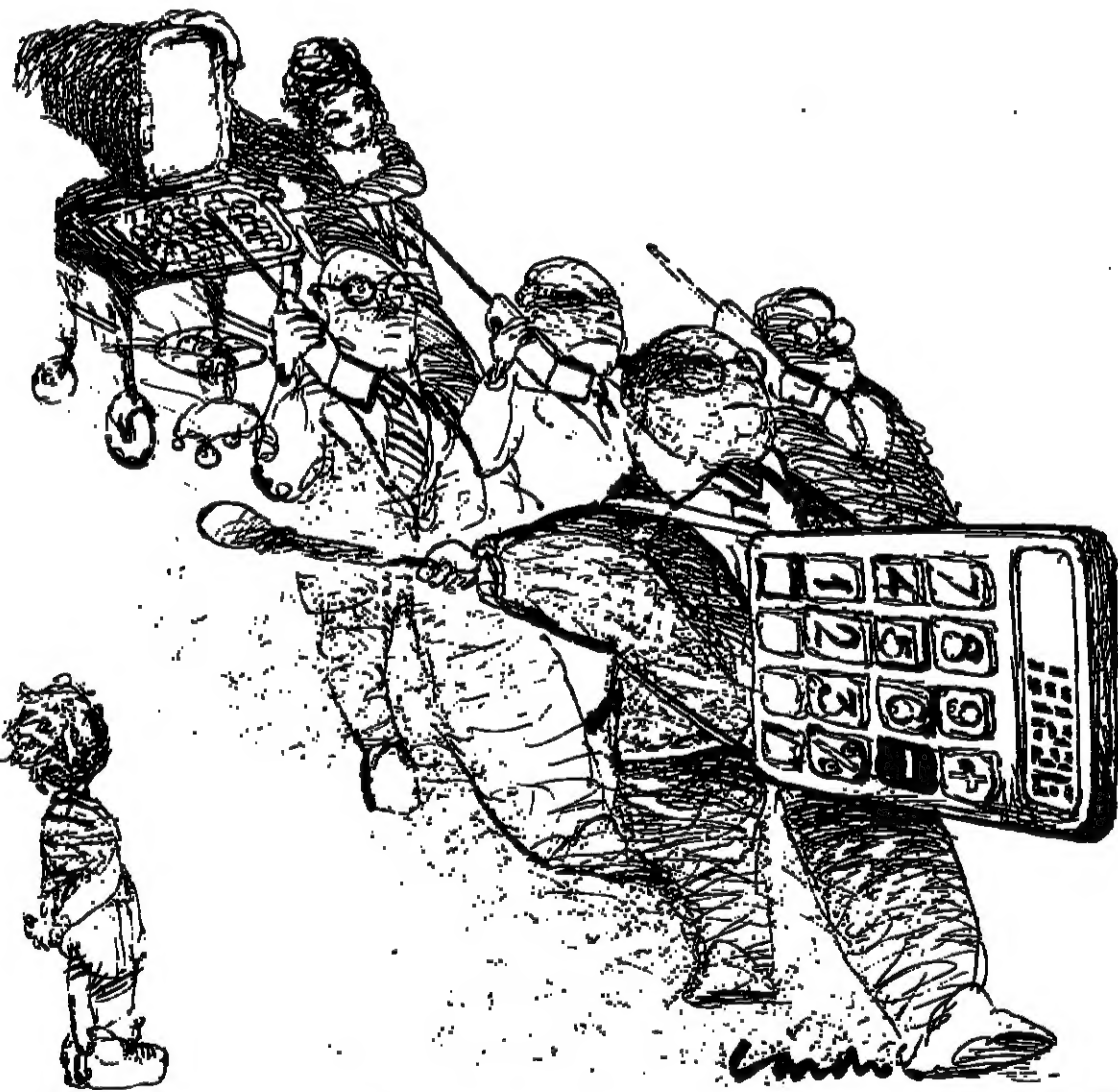
The British Side

"He may be confronted with incomprehension from British war veterans who would have liked to commemorate their victory over Hitler's armies in a military context," the German newspaper *Sächsische Zeitung* said in an editorial.

"On the other hand, Major is assured of the applause of everyone who was repulsed by the military pomp at the ceremonies marking the Allied landing at Normandy. By passing up the parade, the British have sent a clear signal that should foster the sensitivity in dealing with the past that both Germans and Britons have often lacked."



Germany is preparing for many difficult end-of-the-war anniversaries. The destruction of Dresden by Allied bombs was captured on film shortly afterward.



Horacio Cardo

In Congress, the World Fades

Continued from page 1

But with this President, it goes further: They seem to feel they don't have to.

As the maiden witness before the newly named House International Relations Committee last week, James A. Baker 3d, President Bush's Secretary of State, advised his audience to resist the temptation "to give as good as we got" when the Republicans controlled the White House and the Democrats controlled the Congress. Instead, he laid out a sweeping strategy for avoiding policy debates while exerting control over the bureaucracy.

Back the President

"The United States of America has an obligation to lead internationally, and we can only lead internationally, effectively, if we understand that the President has the primary responsibility for the conduct of the nation's foreign policy. Attempts at Congressional micromanagement of foreign policy were a bad idea when the Democrats were in control, and they remain a bad idea today." Republicans, he said, should work with the Democratic Administration, overhaul the foreign policy bureaucracy and use their own legislative authority better. What he did not need to say is that such a strategy would leave the Presidency's authority over foreign policy intact should a Republican — perhaps even Mr. Baker himself — win the White House in 1996.

Another reason for the Republican lack of interest in policy debates these days is the painful memory of George Bush's misguided strategy in the 1992 campaign: his foreign policy successes simply did not resonate the way Bill Clinton's focus on the domestic economy did. Finally, argues Jeremy Rossner, the author of a forthcoming study of Congress and foreign

policy, "the Republicans as a party have done no better than the Democrats at making order out of the confusion of the post-Cold War era."

Take the House Republicans' "Contract with America." Although it offers a thorough housecleaning of the budget and welfare, foreign policy gets only a light dusting — commitments to protect American soldiers from being put under United Nations command and to rebuild America's defense establishment.

That makes it easier for individual Republicans to take their own positions on issues if they want. The foreign policy agenda announced by the Senate

Republicans have to scramble for a party line to follow, in case it matters.

Majority leader, Bob Dole, on the Senate floor two weeks ago amounted to two unrelated items of particular interest to him: giving the President more authority to make war but limiting his ability to deploy peacekeepers, and lifting the international arms embargo on Bosnia.

And, without a party line, Republicans have the freedom to change their minds. Senator Frank Murkowski of Alaska, for example, criticized the nuclear accord with North Korea as giving away too much to an untrustworthy Communist regime — until he took a trip there and came back arguing that it may not be such a bad deal for the United States after all.

"It's the flip side of where we were in 1980, when

virtually dead; there is not enough discretionary money left in the budget to spur growth internally through government spending or big industrial policy programs. There is widespread acceptance of the notion that if the American economy is going to expand, it will do so through exports of goods, services and information. Even Warren Christopher says so. But his response has been to hand away countries to his colleagues, one by one.

He started with Japan, concluding that America's problems with its greatest ally in the Pacific were largely economic, and thus out of his bailiwick. China came next: Ever since last spring, when Mr. Bentsen won the day in one of the Administration's biggest policy arguments and persuaded Mr. Clinton that the linkage of human rights to trade relations with China was a recipe for America's commercial ruin, China policy has been dominated by the likes of Commerce Secretary Ron Brown and the United States Trade Representative, Mickey Kantor.

Their talk of "commercial engagement" hasn't eased tension with China — by many measures things are worse — but now officials in Washington and Beijing do not argue over China's continued imprison-

almost every major Republican leader was in lockstep with the Democrats and agreed with what Jimmy Carter was doing," said Michael Beschloss, a historian who has written on the Presidency. "But in 1995 you have a lot of people engaged in individual issues for almost quirky reasons, and no overall pattern that united them into a consistent critique of the Clinton foreign policy."

Cold War Redux

That doesn't mean that there is no glue to hold much of the Republican Congress together on foreign policy. If you put the small snapshots together, an uneven landscape does emerge, with remarkable similarity to the kind of thinking that dominated the cold war. Republicans seem to want to maintain or increase defense spending, boost American leadership and emphasize traditional security interests.

That vision can be found in the House Republicans' resolution, released last week, which advocates inviting the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary and Slovakia into NATO within five years as one way to revitalize national security. It can also be found in the "Contract with America's" proposals for defense spending, which would revive Ronald Reagan's vision of a Star Wars missile defense.

What isn't found are calls to spend more — or even the same amount — on what is sometimes called the global agenda: peacekeeping, population control, international environmental programs and refugee relief. If the experience of the last several years is any guide, financing such efforts might do as much to counter the real long-range threats to American security as would high-tech defense spending designed to shield America from Russia's waning military might — or to fight two wars at the same time.

Foreign Policy for Now

War, Peace and the Rest: All Issues Are Trade Issues

Continued from page 1

ment of dissidents. Instead, they issue threats of a trade war, prompted by the Administration's insistence that China shut the factories that churn out 70 million pirated compact and video disks a year.

And as the Latin American summit in Miami last month proved, the Western Hemisphere is going the way of the economic gurus as well: the secret airstrips where the C.I.A. once flew arms to the contras now look like promising distribution channels for the new "Free Trade Area of the Americas." That is, unless the Mexican crisis sinks Mr. Clinton's plan for creating millions of jobs in the United States by building export markets throughout the hemisphere.

"The question isn't whether Warren Christopher will stay in his job," one State Department official active in economic issues said the other day. "The question is why he has given so much of it away."

The answer is that he had little choice. Mr. Christopher has few levers to pull when it comes to helping direct international capital flows around the world — and access to capital is the leading subject of discussion these days. The State Department has a large economics section, of course, but it plays little role in coordinating economic foreign policy.

Money's the High Card

The rise of the Age of the Finance Minister, of course, is not entirely new: James A. Baker 3d carved out a lot of the territory when he served as Ronald Reagan's Treasury Secretary. But in the Reagan and Bush years, as throughout the cold war, keeping the anti-Soviet alliance together always trumped commercial concerns. Two years into the Clinton Administration, things have changed. To tell the difference, just peek inside the situation room — not the one at the State Department, but the new one, over at Commerce.

Technically, it is the "Advocacy Center," a sleek computer room staffed by specialists who track, minute by minute, the status of thousands of giant projects around the world that American firms are vying to win. "The idea is to bring the whole force of the Government together to press the case for American business — ambassadors, commercial officers, investment bankers, the Ex-Im Bank or OPIC," he said, naming the two government agencies that have taken a major role in financing big deals abroad. Competitors are also tracked.

On Thursday, 24 hours before Commerce Secretary Ron Brown's departure with an entourage of officials and industry executives to India, the screens were flickering with data about big electric power and telecommunications projects still up for grabs. "I for one was tired of seeing President Mitterrand and President Kohl travel the world representing their country's industry while we stood back and did nothing," Mr. Brown said last week. "Our attitude was, 'Good luck, let us know how it turned out.'"

But a series of deals does not constitute a foreign policy. The risk, of course, is that relentless pressure to buy, buy, buy American undercuts alliances and breeds resentments. Just ask the Australians, who are among America's most critical strategic allies and are outraged by the Agriculture Department's plan to help American dairy farmers export to Australia's markets. At the height of the cold war, when exports meant little to Americans and defending against Soviet attack meant a lot, the decision would have been easy. Now it may take up most of Mr. Rubin's day.

سكنا من الاصل

The World

Israel Eyes Iran in the Fog of Nuclear Politics

By CLYDE HABERMAN

NUCLEAR politics is being played with a vengeance across the Middle East, and, while it obviously beats nuclear war, it has had its own unsettling effects.

In recent days, new and disturbing questions have risen about Iran's nuclear program, most of them boiling down to one, mind-focusing issue: How close are the anti-Western mullahs in Teheran to getting the bomb? Are they really close, five years or less, as some American and Israeli specialists warn? Or, as others insist, do they have a way to go, perhaps until the year 2010, assuming they take no shortcuts like buying plutonium or actual weapons from nuclear-rich but cash-poor countries like Russia?

Estimates of 7 to 15 years — an imprecise spread, at best — were publicly offered here last week by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and the visiting United States Defense Secretary, William J. Perry. In fact, Mr. Perry allowed that the Iranians had "many, many years" to go, suggesting that a day of reckoning is not at hand. Others say that, no matter who may be right, the one that should really worry is Iran's immediate neighbor, Iraq. And when was the last time many Westerners shed tears for either of those two countries?

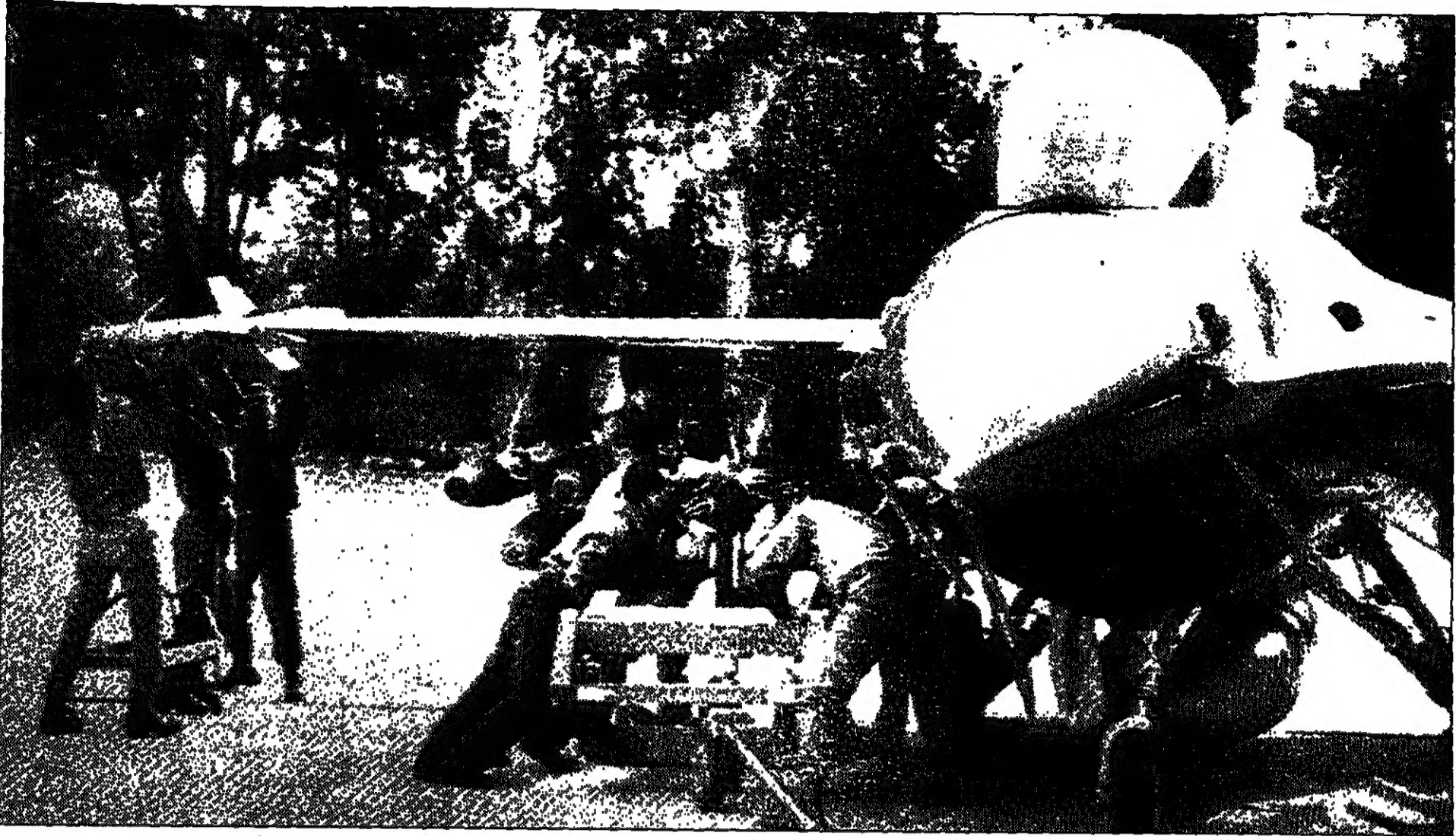
Facts and Opinions

The problem is sorting hard fact from soft opinion, a task not made easy for nonexperts by the gloss of politics laid across the dispute. Among those sounding the loudest alarms are Israeli officials, arch-enemies of Iran. That hardly renders the warnings invalid: Iran's insistence that it is developing nuclear power purely for peaceful purposes lands with a dull thud in the West, where few would want to see atomic weapons in the hands of a regime of wild-card ideologues, whether it takes 5 years or 15.

Still, the Israelis have pointed fingers at Iran from time to time in the past, and they would seem to have self-interested reasons to do so again.

For starters, fingers are being freshly leveled in their direction as well. It has long been an open secret that there is indeed a nuclear power in the Middle East whose name begins with I, and it is Israel, with an estimated 200 weapons or more in its arsenal. To Israelis, the bomb is their equalizer in a hostile region, though they have never confirmed they have it (the official line is a studiously opaque promise that they will not be the first to "introduce" nuclear weapons into the Middle East).

Deliberate ambiguity is its own reward. "Our potential is clear enough, so we have a deterrent," said Joseph Alpher, an Israeli defense specialist who heads the Israel-Middle East office of the American Jewish Committee. "But by having deniability, we hopefully can persuade neighboring countries that the threat is not as large as they thought, and perhaps they won't develop



Officially, Israel is ambiguous about the presumed nuclear abilities of its forces. Here a ground crew loads missiles and bombs on an Israeli F-16.

nuclear arms themselves."

Hopes that their neighbors won't worry have taken a beating in recent weeks. Egypt, the first Arab country to sign a peace treaty with Israel, is leading a movement to denounce Israel's presumed nuclear stockpile as one of the principal dangers to Middle East peace. Lately, the Egyptians have stepped up their anti-Israel attacks, and relations between the countries are as bad as they have been in years.

Now, this Egyptian discovery of Israel's nuclear potential is a bit like Claude Rains' shock in "Casablanca" at learning about gambling going on in the casino. Why Cairo is suddenly beating the atomic drum so hard is open to debate. But Israelis suspect it is a way for President Hosni Mubarak to stake out a leadership role in the Arab world and to show his own people, beleaguered by an Islamic fundamentalist uprising, that he is not soft on the Jewish state.

Whatever the reason, Egypt has thrown embarrassing attention on Israel's refusal to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which expires in April and essentially

affirms that the world's only legitimate nuclear powers are the United States, Russia, Britain, France and China. Not that Israel is the only holdout. Other suspected owners of nuclear weapons, notably India

How many years until Teheran has a bomb?
A) 7. B) 15. C) 'Many.'

and Pakistan, are also nonsigners.

But Israel considers itself a Western country, and does not want to look like an obstructionist. And so it has turned the spotlight on Iran, whose nuclear potential is probably scarier to most Westerners than Israel's. "Iran believes Israel is a collective Salman Rushdie," Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said last week, referring to the British writer who is under an Iranian death

sentence. Mark Heller, a senior researcher at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies in Tel Aviv, argues that this get-Iran strategy may also help the Rabin Government with Israelis who harbor doubts about the peace talks with the Palestine Liberation Organization. "It can say: If you don't make peace with these guys, look what's coming next — Islamic fundamentalists with nuclear arms behind them," Mr. Heller said.

Realities

Politics aside, Israeli officials say the dangers are real enough, not overstated. Iran's nuclear program continues apace, they say, and that is good reason to speak out periodically. If anything, they add, worries deepened this month when Russia agreed to complete work on two long-unfinished Iranian reactors in Bushehr, on the Persian Gulf; now the risk grows that Teheran will have access to Russian material and even renegade nuclear scientists looking for a quick buck.

All this raises questions about whether

Israel might try to knock out the reactors, just as its warplanes bombed an Iraqi reactor in 1981. Some senior civilian and army officials drop vague hints of such a possibility. But in public at least, that option is ruled out for now.

Instead, the Israelis talk about further isolating Iran — through an international boycott, for example, to dry up the oil money that may enable it to buy its way toward a bomb. Mr. Perry called on Russia last week to keep its critical technology away from the Iranians.

Some critics caution that a more isolated Iran can become a more dangerous Iran, but Israeli officials reply that to do nothing is even worse.

"Fifty years after the Holocaust, the Jewish people cannot be indifferent to the combination of crazy ideology and mass-destruction weapons," said Health Minister Ephraim Sneh, a former general and a political ally of Mr. Rabin. "I prefer that people think I'm exaggerating than underestimate such a combination. If we ignore it, then we're really stupid."

The Enemies in Russia's War

Faith Reinforces Hate in the Caucasus

By MICHAEL SPECTER

IT has been hard during a month of fighting in the Caucasus to find a Chechen rifle without a strip of green ribbon wrapped around it. Some soldiers just pin the ribbons to their shirts, right above the heart. Others tie them like bandanas across their frayed woolen caps.

But they are almost always there, because green is the color of Islam. When 40,000 Russian soldiers swarmed across the border of the secessionist republic of Chechnya last month, the Moscow view of Chechen life was simple enough: It was the mob capital of the world; armed thugs ran free there; order was impossible and discipline less so.

Nobody talked about religion. But these days it seems that nobody can stop talking about it. Nearly every Chechen soldier swears allegiance to Allah, taking gazavat, the holy oath to die fighting the invaders. Suddenly Russian leaders remember that the region is filled with Muslims and that neighbors like Turkey, Azerbaijan, Iran, Saudi Arabia and, of course, Afghanistan have tens of millions more, many of whom have expressed outrage at what Russia has done.

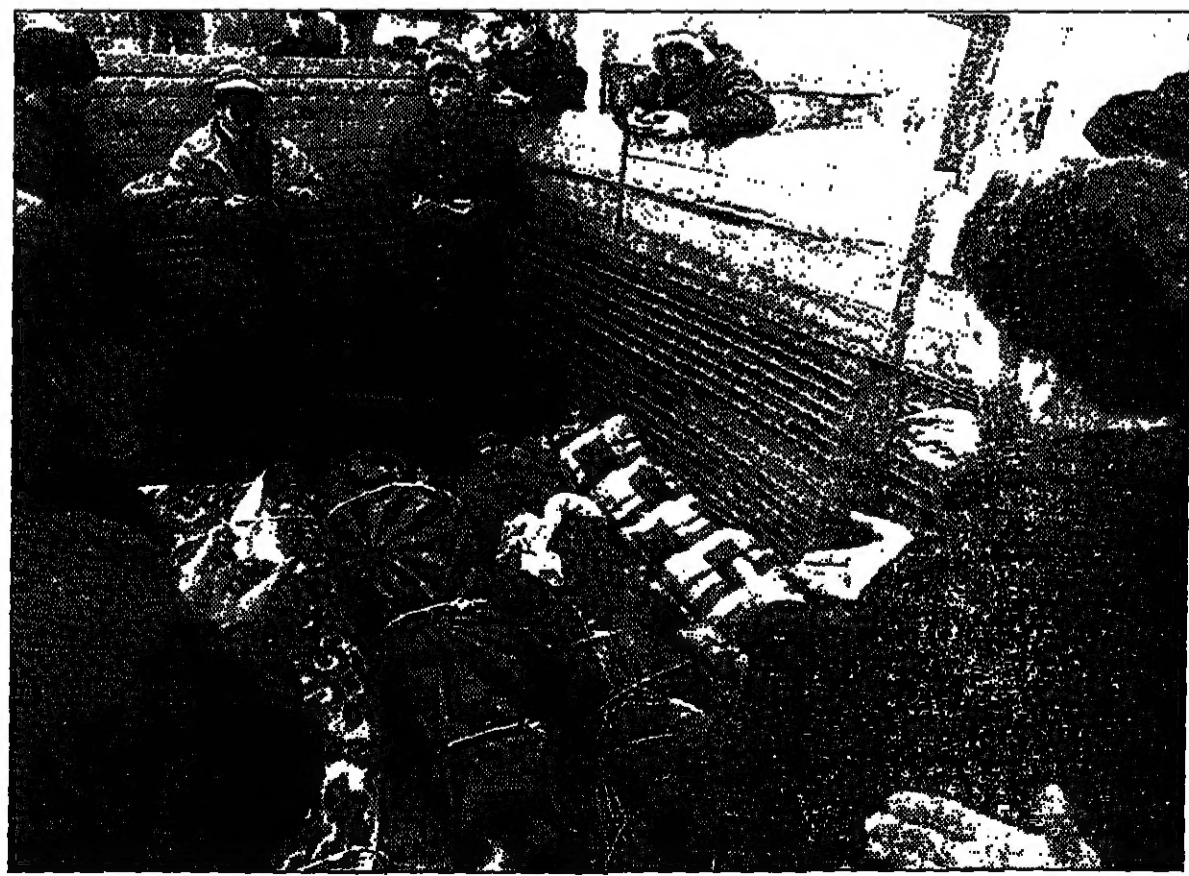
Slavs vs. Muslims

Russia has a long, often friendly, history with Muslim states. But since Communism ended, wars in former Soviet outposts like Tajikistan, Nagorno-Karabakh and Georgia have turned those relationships inside out. It is also rarely forgotten that not too far away, in Bosnia, other Slavic people have been massacring Muslims for nearly three years. Since the war in Chechnya began, Russia has almost daily accused Afghanistan, Iran and other Islamic lands of sending "mercenaries" to Grozny, the Chechen capital.

The dangers of this seem obvious enough to many people. There is a frequently expressed fear in the Muslim world that Europe and the United States are unwilling to do much about wars in Bosnia and Chechnya in part because the victims are primarily Muslim and have almost no exiled countrymen living in the West. There are very few Chechen Americans.

Yet, Moscow is slowly realizing that it has gotten far more than it bargained for in Chechnya. It is not just that the fight has been hundreds of times more ruinous and humiliating than anyone could have imagined. There is a fear, at least among the dwindling democrats here, that a confrontation with the Muslim world could become as painful and lengthy as the cold war.

In an increasingly typical remark, Gen. Aleksandr



Faith gives Chechen defiance an edge. Muslims in Grozny, gathered in a truck, prayed for shelling victims.

Lebed, a powerful and committed opponent of the war in Chechnya, said in a speech this week that the conflict could grow "into a war of Russia against the whole Muslim world." Russian leaders, anxious to dispel any sense that a holy war is beginning in the south, have tried desperately to minimize the religious implications of the fighting. "Nobody goes to Chechnya with a sword to destroy mosques," First Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov told a Russian news agency. "There are of course attempts by extremist forces in Muslim states to distort the essence of the conflict and attach a religious character to it."

That may be true. Chechnya is not primarily a religious place. Although Islam came to the Caucasus in the 7th century it didn't take root in Chechnya until

more than six centuries later. Ingushetia, which borders Chechnya in Russia, didn't become a predominantly Muslim region until 200 years ago.

Ideology More Than Piety

Still, it is easy to spot the traditional Muslim signs in graffiti, on placards, and painted on bedsheets everywhere: God is Great; In the Name of God; Chechnya is Allah's Concern. But Islam there is more a mystic source of unity than anything else, more an ideology to die for than a set of beliefs to live by. The expression of the religion has much in common with liberation theology — taking from the Koran a vision of freedom for the secular Chechen nation — and not so much with any

fire-breathing effort to spread Islamic fervor throughout Eurasia, a prospect much feared in Moscow.

But war takes people on strange journeys. Last week a group of Chechen political and religious leaders met in Baghdad with the Libyan leader Muammar el-Qaddafi. The help of any Muslim brethren will obviously not be refused. And if anything can ignite the soul of the nation it may be watching its capital city burn every day for a month.

"This is our land," said Magomed Khadij Iskhadjiev, the chief imam in a small town not far from Grozny called Djalka. "We are a people together and our faith has helped bind us. They more they attack us the more we find our faith. But we are fighting for the

Chechen soldiers wear the green emblems of Islam tied to caps and rifles, as tokens that they have something to die for.

land that has always been ours."

That is true, but it is ironic that post-Soviet Russia has felt its biggest challenge from Islamic fervor in Chechnya. It was expected in Central Asia, where cities like Bukhara, Samarkand and Tashkent are filled with Islam's pious. True, Russia has meddled at a lower level in the civil war in independent Tajikistan.

But until it was shelled nearly to rubble, the Parliament building in Grozny was perhaps the only place in the former Soviet Union to watch scores of teenagers take the oath of gazavat — the personal pledge to fulfill one's duty until he dies. Every young man must ask his local religious leader and his mother for permission to take the oath. Without the approval of both people, it cannot be given. But few parents deny their children the right to die for Chechnya. They are too tired of generations of ethnically motivated abuse at the hands of Russia.

"I would go fight myself," said Malka Akbulatavka, a mother of four boys, all of whom were off fighting the Russians. "They are always saying we are thieves and we have no honor. But we have fought against them for so many years and they are always more powerful. We have a spirit that drives us. How many of them would defend Moscow in this way?"

The Nation

A Special Counsel's Special Burden

By NEIL A. LEWIS

THE scandal at the Department of Housing and Urban Development should qualify now as history: it was two administrations ago that HUD and its leader, Samuel R. Pierce Jr., were awarded the contracts that resulted in the investigation. Now it's the leader of the investigation who is obliged to make explanations.

After five years and a cost of \$17 million, the independent counsel, Arlin M. Adams, announced last week that Mr. Pierce will not be formally charged with any crimes. And if that is somehow unsatisfying, it is because of the dual role that the independent prosecutor has been assigned in American Government's efforts to fix itself.

Like his predecessors in the job of investigating high officials of the executive branch, Mr. Adams will be judged according to the simple standard applied to all prosecutors: at the end of the day, did the top official walk away or not? But the special counsel also has the more complicated job of rendering the official, untainted record of what happened inside the Government.

And it is the writing of history that Mr. Adams and Mr. Pierce are fighting over now.

Almost a Confession

Mr. Adams has been quick to say that Mr. Pierce has made the next best thing to a confession; in a statement that the independent counsel released, Mr. Pierce said he "accepts responsibility" for his role in the mismanagement of his department. As Mr. Adams interprets the statement, Mr. Pierce acknowledges that he "contributed to the environment" under which many of his subordinates were able to turn the department

The HUD scandal's big fish is excused; the prosecutor must finish the story.

into an old-fashioned political candy store, with contracts distributed to political allies.

Mr. Pierce begs to differ. He didn't mean to say all of that, he insists, but rather was vindicated. He said he made the statement because he is "from the old school" in which the captain of the ship takes responsibility for all that occurs under his command. The responsibility he has accepted, he made clear, is the noble, abstract kind.

In the end, Mr. Adams will have the final say, at least in a formal sense, because he is charged with preparing a report on the HUD scandal in which he can fashion his conclusions freely.

The independent counsel said he chose not to bring charges in part because of Mr. Pierce's health and age — the former Secretary is 72 years old — and because of "the uncertainty and great expenditure of time and money inherent in such a trial."

As for the other results of his five-year investigation, Mr. Adams and his assistants can point to a record that includes 16 convictions and resulted in more than \$2 million in criminal fines.

In these cases, Mr. Adams helped expose an atmosphere of rampant corruption at the housing agency, where money was awarded to a slew of consultants with ties to the Republican Party. Yet many of these sordid deals were brought to light by a House investigations committee before Mr. Adams came upon the scene.

Representative Tom Lantos, a California Democrat, held hearings disclosing, for example, that James Watt, the former Energy Secretary, received more than \$400,000 in consulting fees just for making a few telephone calls. Mr. Lantos's committee also determined that Gerald R. Carmen, a former head of the General Services Administration, made \$2.3 million in the sale of tax credits for a project subsidized by HUD and that Mr. Pierce had a discretionary fund for special projects including a plan, since dropped, to build a \$1 million swimming pool in Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato's hometown of Island Park, L.I.

Mr. Lantos said he accepted Mr. Adams's explanations for declining to prosecute.

In his announcement last week, Mr. Adams said Mr. Pierce had acknowledged that by failing to monitor his subordinates he allowed them free rein to reward friends with Federal money. Mr. Adams also said the former Secretary, in stating that his "own conduct failed to set the proper standard," acknowledged that he had signaled tolerance of such behavior by meeting privately with people like Mr. Watt and Mr. Carmen.

The role of the independent counsel has been especially difficult since the airing of the foremost Reagan-era scandal, the Iran-contra affair. Reagan Administration supporters succeeded in making Lawrence Walsh, the Republican who headed the investigation, as much a target of criticism as the officials accused of secretly selling arms to Iran and illegally diverting profits to the Nicaraguan contras.

Quiet Years

Mr. Adams, a Republican and a former Federal appeals court judge from Philadelphia, was appointed in 1990, about a year after the first allegations of misconduct by housing officials. In the last few years, his investigation had received little attention.



Samuel R. Pierce testifying before Congress in 1989.

There are now three other independent counsel investigations under way. One is to determine whether Bush Administration officials misbehaved in unearthing Bill Clinton's passport application from State Department files during the 1992 presidential campaign. A second is exploring allegations that former Agriculture Secretary Mike Espy improperly received gifts from companies he was supposed to regulate.

But the investigation being conducted by Kenneth W. Starr, a former Solicitor General in the Bush Administration, has the greatest potential for another fight over the historical record. Mr. Starr is investigating the welter of allegations that go under the collective name of Whitewater.



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Guarding Malcolm's Legacy

Continued from page 1

cuts deeply at Mr. Farrakhan.

The assassination of Malcolm X in 1965 — an attack Qubilah Shabazz witnessed as a 4-year-old — did not immediately make his onetime protégé, then known as Louis X, the top leader of the nation's Black Muslims, who today number about 60,000. Mr. Farrakhan had to wait for Elijah Muhammad, the group's founder, to die in 1975; and then for Muhammad's son Wallace to pack up and leave the Chicago headquarters for Detroit, where he shifted the emphasis of his black-oriented sect to a more racially inclusive Islam.

This left the all-black Muslim domain exclusively to Mr. Farrakhan.

But there was a lingering blemish: the accusation that Mr. Farrakhan had a hand in Malcolm's death. He denied it, and many blacks had come to forget the charge, or ignore it or brush it off as unproven, as indeed it was. Not the family of Malcolm X, however.

Going Public

Last year Betty Shabazz went public in a television interview, firmly asserting that Mr. Farrakhan was involved. The Farrakhan connection, she said, was a given. "Everybody talked about it," she said.

Indeed they did. Many blacks have held the view that the assassination was ordered from the very top of Black Muslim leadership.

There is no way to gauge whether or not Mr. Farrakhan can withstand the questions and charges. Despite his apparent wide popularity among many younger blacks, his only accomplishments have been inside his own Muslim group. Likewise, it is difficult to measure the number of people who think he is culpable in Malcolm's death.

If Mr. Farrakhan is one thing, he is consistent. His anti-Semitic rhetoric has not changed since he inherited it from Elijah Muhammad. White criticism of leaders chosen by blacks only intensified acceptance of Mr. Farrakhan and his disciples, especially among poorer blacks. The hate language concerned middle- and upper-income blacks, but these groups could tolerate it in the name of unity.

But consider another factor. Betty Shabazz, Coretta Scott King, the widow of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and Myrtle Evers, wife of the slain civil rights leader Medgar Evers, remain highly regarded among blacks, and what these women say and do are important.

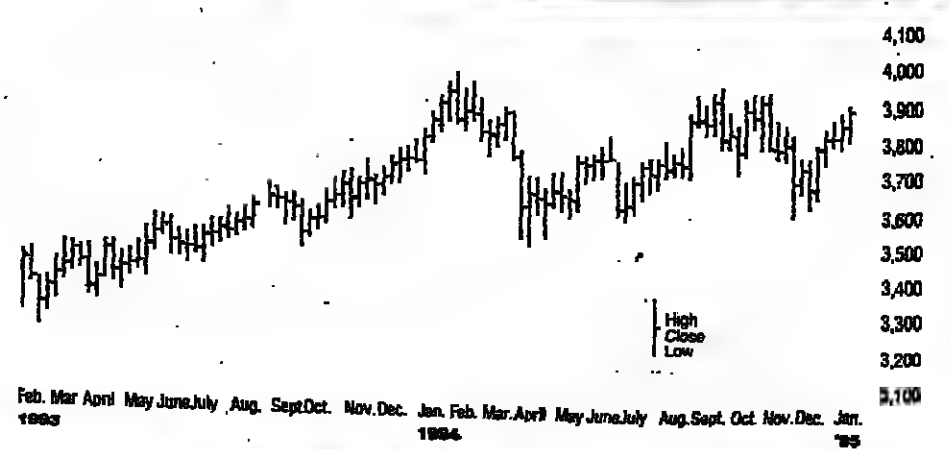
Witness, for example, the current fight Mrs. King and her family are waging against the National Park Service over the Martin Luther King National Historic Site in Atlanta.

Malcolm was the only one of the three leaders killed by blacks. His stature loomed larger in death than ever in life, after he changed and his modified views on Islam and the world became more acceptable — a transformation that resulted in his assassination. Anyone even rumored to be remotely connected to that death will have to endure a measure of taint. Doubly so if the charge is led by the family of the icon.

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The Stock Markets Last Week

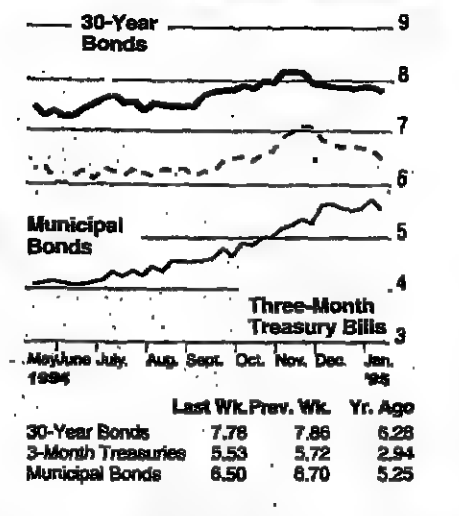
DOW JONES INDUSTRIAL AVERAGE



MARKET DIARY

	NYSE	NASDAQ	AMEX
Advanced	1,638	2,503	410
Declined	1,076	1,965	359
Unchanged	372	871	163
Issues Traded	3,086	5,339	952
New Highs	103	175	33
New Lows	232	152	59

INTEREST RATES



MARKET INDEXES

	Close	Chg	%Chg	YTD %
D. J. Indust	3,908.46	+41.05	+1.06	+1.93
D. J. Transp	1,528.62	+27.25	+1.82	+5.06
D. J. Utilis	183.96	-0.39	-0.21	+1.34
S&P 500	465.97	+5.29	+1.15	+1.46
S&P Indust	553.68	+6.24	+1.14	+1.13
NYSE Comp	253.95	+2.36	+0.94	+1.20
Nasdaq	762.16	+12.47	+1.66	+1.36
Amex	436.13	+3.01	+0.69	+0.57
Russell 2000	249.95	+1.87	+0.75	-0.16
Wilshire 5000	4,599.47	+52.48	+1.15	+1.30
Value Line	279.73	+1.75	+0.63	+0.80

New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE				PERCENTAGE GAINERS				PERCENTAGE LOSERS			
Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.	Pct.	Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.	Pct.	Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.	Pct.
TelMex	698045	35 1/2	+ 1/4	Fidelity B	5	+ 1 1/2	42.9	Seatchi	47 1/2	- 1 1/2	26.4
Pet	256363	25 1/2	+ 5/8	Fidelity A	5 1/2	+ 1 1/2	35.3	GrupoEle n	99 1/2	- 3 1/2	25.0
RJR	242179	5 1/2	+ 1/8	AcmeE	17	+ 4 1/4	33.3	MusciL	71 1/4	- 2 1/4	23.7
Citic	217100	40 1/2	+ 1 1/2	Hexcel	5 1/4	+ 1 1/4	31.4	C G Dina L	4 1/2	- 1 1/2	22.9
GrupoTele	175277	26 1/2	...	Starter	9 1/2	+ 2 1/2	28.3	HiltiSyn A	26	- 7 1/2	21.5
YFSoc	168270	21 1/4	+ 1 1/2	Pet	25 1/2	+ 5 1/2	27.3	DescSaDe	15	- 4	21.1
Motioria	154992	62 1/2	+ 4 1/2	Wackhi s	13 1/4	+ 2 1/2	23.9	ContAir A	8	- 1 1/2	19.0
Comq s	151681	43 1/2	+ 3 1/2	GrupinMas B	16 1/2	+ 3 1/2	23.4	HomeSh	8	- 1 1/2	19.0
Empica	143305	10 1/2	+ 1 1/2	Wackhi w s	12 1/4	+ 2 1/4	21.4	ContAir B	7 1/4	- 1 1/2	16.2
GrupoTrn	133242	31 1/2	+ 3 1/2	Terra	11 1/2	+ 1 1/2	18.8	FedMold	18	- 3 1/4	15.3
AT&T	127299	49	+ 3 1/4	NMedia	5 1/2	+ 7 1/2	18.4	HmHolding	77 1/2	- 1 1/2	14.9
WalMart	125409	22	+ 3/4	GrupEmbort n	14	+ 2 1/2	17.9	C G Dina	6 1/4	- 1 1/2	14.3
Merck	125321	37 1/2	+ 3/8	Fairch	8 1/2	+ 1 1/4	17.5	HSRsc	14 1/2	- 2 1/2	14.2
FordM	120823	23 1/2	+ 1/4	TimbCo	24 1/2	+ 3 1/2	17.5	HayeWhi	17 1/4	- 2 1/2	13.9
				AmEglOp n	9 1/2	+ 1 1/2	16.9	Southin	12 1/4	- 2	13.6

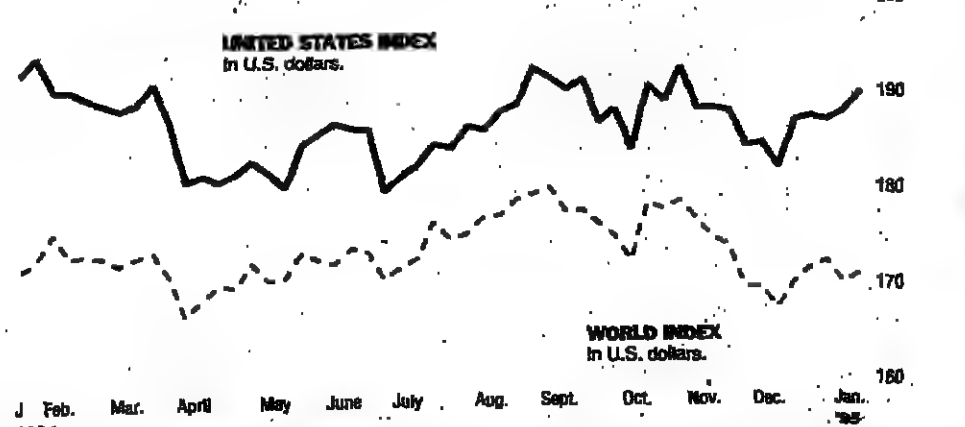
Nasdaq

MOST ACTIVE				PERCENTAGE GAINERS				PERCENTAGE LOSERS			
Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.	Pct.	Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.	Pct.	Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.	Pct.
Intel	284308	68 1/2	+ 3 1/2	SLM s	6 1/2	+ 3 1/2	105.9	Brtwse	2 1/2	- 2 1/2	53.7
AppleC	237745	44 1/2	+ 2 1/2	Regnum	6 1/2	+ 2 1/2	75.0	CYRk	23 1/2	- 12 1/4	35.2
MC	206181	18 1/2	+ 3/4	Medmun	6 1/2	+ 2 1/4	58.1	CosCtra	93 1/2	- 4 1/2	34.0
Novell	204392	18 1/2	+ 3/4	MicrotekR n	12 1/4	+ 4 1/2	54.6	BalyGang	7	- 3 1/2	33.3
BayNetw s	184122	31 1/4	+ 2 1/2	Spinlnd s	13 1/4	+ 4 1/2	48.7	CosCrb	9	- 4 1/2	32.1
NorTelCm	151707	11 1/2	+ 7/8	AlnSem s	29 1/4	+ 9 1/2	47.5	DigitSy	7 1/2	- 3	27.6
Cisco s	145736	35 1/2	+ 1 1/4	ReCap	17 1/2	+ 5 1/2	39.7	Electel	3 1/4	- 1 1/2	25.0
Micr s	117488	62 1/2	+ 2 1/2	AcquaCrSy n	5 1/4	+ 1 1/2	39.4	Genta	3 1/4	- 1 1/2	25.0
Oracle s	108562	42 1/2	+ 3/4	Cygnus	8 1/2	+ 2 1/2	38.5	CPIAero	3 1/4	- 1 1/2	25.0
Biogn	107234	36 1/4	+ 5/8	Aurora	7 1/2	+ 2	37.2	NeiFrm	5 1/2	- 1 1/2	22.9

American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE				PERCENTAGE GAINERS				PERCENTAGE LOSERS			
Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.	Pct.	Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.	Pct.	Vol. (00)	Last	Chg.	Pct.
ChartMed	54674	15 1/4	+ 4 1/4	EmpCar	10 1/4	+ 3 1/4	46.4	CityProd	37 1/2	- 2 1/2	38.0
Viacom B	52283	43 1/4	+ 1 1/2	BarryRG s	11 1/2	+ 2 1/2	21.8	ChartMed	15 1/4	- 4 1/4	21.3
RoyalD	39096	3 1/2	+ 1/4	UniteIV	6 1/4	+ 1	19.1	Gruposi	10 1/2	- 2	15.5
EchoBy	35667	10 1/4	+ 3/4	Alphaln	8 1/2	+ 1 1/2	18.5	MichAnt	6 1/4	- 7/8	13.2
IntDigCm	34528	8 1/2	+ 1	KV A	6	+ 7/8	17.1	PLCSys	4 1/2	- 1 1/2	13.1

World Stock Markets



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the FT Actuarial World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and NatWest Securities Ltd. In conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and the Faculty of Actuaries.

Country	IN U.S. DOLLARS					IN LOCAL CURRENCY				
	Index	Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank	Index	Week % Chg.	Week Rank	YTD % Chg.	YTD Rank
Australia	163.31	-1.5	20	-4.9	19	4.02	143.33	-2.6	1.3198	-2.3
Austria	179.14	-0.1	18	-2.0	15	1.14	143.00	-2.8	10.8105	0.9
Belgium	167.05	0.0	13	-0.8	12	4.24	130.04	-1.6	31.565	0.8
Britain	194.32	0.5	9	-0.3	10	4.20	163.54	-0.6	0.8371	0.3
Canada	126.47	-1.0	16	-2.3	16	2.67	129.32	-1.6	1.4121	-0.7
Denmark	252.50	-0.1	15	0.3	8	1.43	207.58	-0.4	6.044	0.7
Finland	191.45	1.5	3	3.0	1	0.73	190.55	3.0	4.7428	-0.1
France	162.51	-0.0	14	-0.6	11	3.18	135.08	-1.4	5.2985	0.7
Germany	141.20	1.5	4	-1.5	13	1.85	112.51	-2.6	1.5327	1.1
Hong Kong	287.15	-6.0	22	-12.0	24	4.37	285.88	-11.8	7.7545	-0.2
Ireland	208.84	-1.0	17	1.3	4	3.36	189.74	0.8	0.8448	0.4
Italy	75.89	0.6	8	0.9	5	1.72	91.91	0.8	1619.5	0.2
Japan	154.03	1.1	7	-1.9	14	0.79	95.93	-3.1	98.525	1.3
Malaysia	430.94	-7.7	23	-10.1	22	1.98	424.80	-9.9	2.5595	-0.2
Mexico	1247.33	3.0	1	-11.9	23	1.42	7187.02	-5.8	5.27	-8.5
Netherlands	217.56	1.2	5	0.3	7	3.39	170.55	-0.7	1.7176	1.0
New Zealand	71.01	1.7	2	0.8	6	4.96	59.04	1.0	1.5657	-0.2
Norway	207.74	0.5	10	-2.5	17	1.83	189.23	-3.3	6.711	0.8
Singapore	340.44	-8.3	24	-8.7	21	1.88	226.35	-8.9	1.4555	0.2
South Africa	314.05	-5.0	21	-6.7	20	2.29	288.29	-3.9	4.2	-3.0
Spain	126.54	-1.4	12	2.0	2	4.53	128.01	-2.7	133.535	-1.4
Sweden	235.66	0.4	11	0.2	9	1.85	261.83	2.9	7.5051	-0.9
Switzerland	165.48	0.4	11	0.2	9	1.85	132.06	-1.5	1.2872	1.7
United States	190.69	1.1	6	1.6	3	2.91	190.69	1.6		

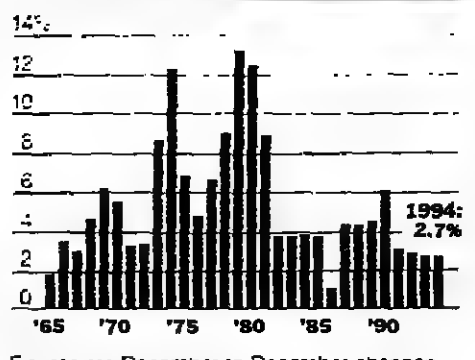
COMPOSITE INDICES
Europe 168.34 0.5 -0.4 3.12 149.24 -0.9
Europe/Pacific 163.12 0.3 -1.8 2.01 121.64 -2.6
World 171.88 0.5 -0.8 2.33 144.98 -1.2
Source: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close.
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The Economy

There Was Nothing to Inflation but Fear of Inflation Itself

Inflation, inflation, inflation — that's all we heard about last year. Dire warnings, hand-wringings — and, of course, repeated Federal Reserve interest-rate increases to head it off. But when the final '94 numbers came in last week, one couldn't help wondering what all the fuss was about. Dread inflation, as measured by consumer prices, was a puny 2.7 percent for the year — the fourth straight year under 3 percent. With one exception, in fact, that was the lowest rate in three decades. And there were signs that the mighty economy was slowing, too. The Commerce Department reported that retail sales had slumped unexpectedly in December — and, a bigger surprise, that November was weaker than first reported. This was taken as a sign that the Fed might hold off on future rate increases, and stocks and bonds roared ahead.

CONSUMER PRICES



Figures are December-to-December changes in unadjusted indexes
Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

Hail the Conquering Apple!

Life without apples, some say, is not worth living — though the Japanese have somehow muddled through. With a good apple costing up to \$6 in Japan, they've been treasured gifts, not daily fare. But salvation has arrived — greeted by thankful hordes. Japan, never known to open its markets lightly, lifted import restrictions a quarter century ago — in theory. In fact, it has kept foreign apples out all these years for fear that they'd carry disease (or so it said). But last week was D-Day for American apples, and Japanese consumers snatched them up in no time. At last report, no Japanese had been banished from their island Eden for partaking of this once-forbidden joy.



American apples come to Tokyo

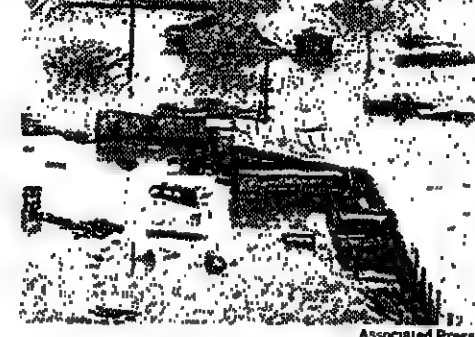
Resolved: To Help Mexico

Democrats and Republicans were in clear agreement last week: they wanted a quick end to the Mexican crisis. That \$18 billion credit line announced over a week ago clearly didn't do the trick, as both the peso and Mexican stocks kept falling. So the White House, with quick support from Congressional Republicans, came up with a big package of loan guarantees (it didn't give numbers, though estimates put it as high as \$40 billion). And — this was vital — the move, involving loans, didn't open up any hornets' nests by adding to the budget back home. One thing in peril, of course, is the success of the North American Free Trade Agreement — if the peso stays weak, there'll be precious few exports to Mexico.

Hit the Ice, Already!

With football nearing its orgasmic finale and baseball a fuzzy memory, sports addicts who suffer post-Super Bowl withdrawal faced the horrifying prospect of having only basketball to distract them. (Sports pages would probably soon be reporting basement Ping-Pong games.) But last week it appeared that there'd be a hockey season after all. The settlement was grumpy, though — both union and management were so dissatisfied, there wasn't even a public handshake.

California Takes a Bath

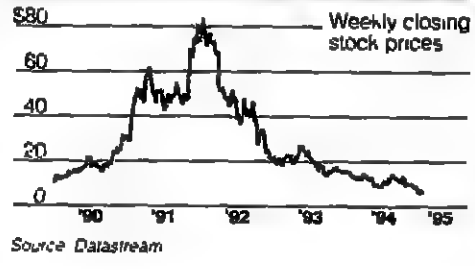


Merrill Lynch and Orange County lobbied grenades back and forth last week in their billion-dollar blame game. First Merrill released letters showing that it had warned the county in 1992 that it was playing with fire with its explosive investment fund. Then the county sued Merrill for \$2 billion, saying the firm had misrepresented the securities — that it was illegal to buy them anyway. Merrill's response: the county was glad to get hefty returns for years, but now, "in effect, they're saying, 'Heads we win, tails you lose.' ... As this was unfolding, the gods got impatient with all the finger-pointing and unleashed 40 days' and 40 nights' worth of rain on the entire state (all in just a few days).

Defy Microsoft at Your Peril

In case there were any lingering doubts about Microsoft's software dominance, just look at Borland International. Philippe Kahn, who founded Borland in 1983, kept lashing out defiantly at Microsoft — and kept getting swatted down. It was undercut by a Microsoft desktop-application package it couldn't match, and it was late delivering key programs — all adding up to repeated losses. So last week, after months of demands by big investors, Mr. Kahn resigned as chief executive — though he'll stay on as chairman. The next step: possibly a sale of the company, either as a whole or in parts.

BORLAND INTERNATIONAL



Source: Datastream

Soon It'll Be the 'Gatesnet'

Clearly, it's not enough for Bill Gates to be the nation's richest human, to dominate the software universe, to build himself a digital San Simeon. No, he wants the world — and since his world is computers, that means the Internet. Last week he said Microsoft had plans to be one of the world's largest commercial providers of Internet access, through its Microsoft Network, to start later this year. This, of course, puts strong competitive pressure on CompuServe, Prodigy and the like — and could also provide a great lure for businesses, now computer-wary, to make the digital plunge.

Golf? Not for Dr. Vagelos

What do you do when you retire, at 65, from a mighty career? You could play golf, but that didn't appeal to P. Roy Vagelos, Dr. Vagelos, who built Merck into a drug giant before leaving in November, joined a tiny biotech company called Regeneron Pharmaceuticals last week — saying, in partial explanation, "I don't play golf." Is this a rerun of John Sculley's disastrous sojourn at Spectrum? After all, Regeneron has lost millions, recent tests of one drug were unsuccessful, and its shares have plunged (though they jumped on this news). Dr. Vagelos sees more, calling the company's scientists "some of the best I have seen."



P. Roy Vagelos, starting over

What, No Dashboard Nintendo?

"Oh, reason not the need!" King Lear thundered. "Our basest beggars have too many cup holders!" But did Detroit listen? Of course not. Back when Detroit held its head up high, any car worth its chrome had fins you could ski down, or some awesome number of "horses." But drivers barely drive these days — they're so busy talking on the car phone, playing a CD, drinking coffee. So at the Auto Show in Detroit last week, the big news was things like cup holders — G.M.'s mini-vans have 14 (14!) of them — and his-and-hers climate controls. All, in the words of Robert Eaton, Chrysler's chairman, to give drivers "things they don't even know they want." It's Chrysler's fault, of course — it started the Great Cup Holder War when, a decade ago, it popularized those family-rooms-on-wheels called mini-vans.

Jobs, in Black and White

"Economic recovery" — those are empty words to most blacks. While the rosy numbers pile up — on unemployment, say, or consumer prices — blacks, as usual, are left far behind. There's been a breakthrough of sorts, for recent data show that the unemployment rate for blacks just dipped below 10 percent for the first time since 1974. It's probably just a statistical breakthrough, though, for if you scratch job numbers even slightly you see that they count only those looking for work, not those discouraged long ago. After all, just 24 percent of black youths are working, and 49 percent of whites.

World Markets/Paul Lewis

But Haven't They Ever Read Genesis?

WHAT was billed as a year of steady growth and low inflation has opened ominously with a seasonal fire sale of stocks and currencies from emerging markets and the weaker industrial nations as capital flees the unstable peripheries of the global financial system to the safety of the center.

Will 1995 really be the second of those biblical "seven fat years," with a sustainable 3.6 percent expansion rate, which the International Monetary Fund's managing director, Michel Camdessus, cheerfully proclaimed at the annual meeting in Madrid last October?

Led by Mexico and the rest of Latin America, emerging markets are now souring on a scale unforeseen a few weeks ago when the financial community was vociferously promoting their charms. Losers among 24 such markets have risen from 15 in 1994 to 17 in the opening weeks of 1995, with two of last year's winners giving up their gains. And the big threat of higher American interest rates leading to shrinking capital inflows and slower growth, is still to come. "We'll likely see a reassessment by investors of the riskiness, especially if money earns more at home," predicted John Litsky, Salomon Brothers' chief economist.

more," said Robert D. Hormats, vice chairman of Goldman, Sachs International. While the package covers Mexico's outstanding short-term foreign liabilities (the famous tesobonos), it doesn't give the central bankers enough to defend the peso against currency flight or foreigners' cashing in their \$30 billion of Mexican stocks.

But where is the money to come from when the Clinton Administration cannot bail out Orange County, Calif.? And why should Western taxpayers stabilize Mexico's exchange rate by guaranteeing new loans so Fidelity's emerging market funds can get their money out safely?

Predictably in the wake of the Mexican crisis, Congressional protectionists are seeking to dissolve the union of the United States and its unstable southern neighbor that was created by the North American Free Trade Agreement, despite the threat to growth on both sides of the Rio Grande. They conveniently forget that Mexico has been enriching Americans for years by living beyond its means, while the trade pact has helped keep it tethered in the free-trade corral in the present crisis instead of gallop-

ing off into nationalistic isolation. But the greatest threat to 1995's prospects stems from the Fed's difficulty over whether to tighten monetary policy on an over-heating domestic economy even if this means higher rates in Latin America and less available capital to finance growth in emerging market economies.

In 1982, the then-Fed chairman, Paul Volcker, drastically relaxed American monetary policy when threatened with a Latin American debt blowoff. This time, however, the Fed and the Bundesbank have bet their reputations on containing inflation. "Mexico may temporarily delay the next tightening, or shave it. But developing world problems are unlikely to get as center stage as in 1982," said Neal M. Soss of the investment advisers Soss & Cotton.

Yet overnight money in Mexico is now 34 percent. And in 1992 Britain and Italy pulled out of Europe's pegged exchange rate system rather than raise rates on weak economies at German dictate. Must the poor live by different rules?

The whiff of tighter money pushed currency markets into turmoil last week. They are betting that when the Bundesbank tightens, the weak, scandal-torn governments of Italy, Spain and Sweden will lack the will to defend their currencies at the price of sacrificing the growth they need to reduce unemployment, lift revenues and cut deficits.

The New York Times

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Tax Deductions for College

President Clinton decided shortly after election to cast aside his campaign pledge to cut taxes on middle-class families for the more pressing purpose of controlling the deficit. He has paid dearly for that act of fiscal prudence. The Republicans seized the political low ground by promising all but the richest 1 percent of families a \$500-per-child tax cut. The promise energized their campaign — even though the spending cuts required to offset the tax cuts would punish the poor and most middle-class families as well.

The President had little choice but to respond in kind. To his credit, he struggled to make the best of a bad idea. His tax cut encourages something the economy desperately needs: a better-educated work force. Mr. Clinton proposes a tax deduction for most families of up to \$10,000 per year to cover the cost of post-secondary education. The idea is to stimulate the type of investment that lies at the core of his economic platform. It is easy to poke holes in the plan. But at least the President put a constructive goal before the public.

Mr. Clinton's tax-cut plan was driven by the need to rebuild his political popularity. His advisers would not otherwise propose tax deductions to encourage college enrollment. Deductions are poorly targeted — providing twice as much saving to a family earning \$100,000 a year (tax bracket above 30 percent) as to one earning \$30,000 a year (tax bracket of 15 percent). The lion's share of the tax cut will go to relatively well-off families that would gladly pay tuition for their children whether Washington stepped in or not. There is also the threat that colleges will find ways to exploit Congress's generosity and raise tuition by offsetting amounts.

A better way to boost college enrollment would

be to direct aid to needy families. Congress already pays for grants and subsidized loans that go primarily to families earning less than \$25,000 a year. But a fiscally strapped Congress has let the value of the Pell grants slide by about 15 percent since 1980 while college tuitions were rising by about 50 percent. Sadly, if Congress passes the President's tax-cut plan, let alone the larger tax cut proposed by House Speaker Newt Gingrich, it will almost surely cut back spending on Pell grants and other targeted financial aid.

For all its flaws, Mr. Clinton's plan would still do some good. Prof. Thomas Kane of Harvard estimates that the tax deduction could raise post-secondary enrollment by between 120,000 and 360,000 students. That would not be a huge boost to the 12 million already enrolled, but it would mean that many fewer Americans were facing bleak futures. Studies show that each additional year of post-secondary education adds between 6 and 12 percent to average annual income. But many families cannot afford, nor even borrow, the money needed to pay for higher education or vocational training. The nation faces far larger costs if these individuals fall into lives of poverty or criminality.

The President's plan is not the most effective way to boost enrollment of needy students. Mr. Kane estimates that the money the Treasury would lose from the tax deduction could be used to double the money spent on Pell grants. Such a policy would concentrate Federal aid on families that truly need help.

That is economically sensible, but, alas, politically difficult. The game between the White House and Capitol Hill requires each to wave benefits before the maximum number of voters — no matter how much the waste, no matter how complete the illusion.

Arms Deals Vulnerable to Abuse

The arrival in Alabama not long ago of a mammoth Russian cargo plane — not exactly a routine sight at Huntsville International Airport — gave away some of the secrecy cloaking Pentagon efforts to obtain advanced Russian military hardware in the wake of the cold war. It is an expensive practice with worthy intentions that must be carefully monitored to insure that deals made largely outside public view are clean and in the national interest, not just the interest of favored friends of the Pentagon.

The plane carried components of a sophisticated Russian air defense system that is considered equal if not superior to the Patriot missile system used by U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf war. The Russian system was sold to BDM International, an American company acting on behalf of the Pentagon, by Belarus, one of several countries eager to collect hard currency in exchange for advanced military equipment left in their possession when the Soviet Union disintegrated.

The acquisition of Russian weapons, handled with considerable success by the Central Intelligence Agency during the cold war, was initiated so the Pentagon could test the equipment and develop ways to defeat it in battle. The idea still makes sense because so much Russian hardware was transferred over the years to countries like Iraq, Libya and North Korea, and much more is now available to anyone for the right price at military garage sales in the former Soviet republics.

The catch is that the murky world of arms dealers is not an easy place to enforce pristine business practices and prevent millions of dollars in public funds from financing payoffs, uncompetitive deals or unreasonable profits. It becomes even harder when the business is conducted in secret, essentially as a subcontracted covert operation, by companies with clout at the Defense Department. If Congress and the Pentagon are going to underwrite companies and private operators, they must make sure the money is properly spent.

In the case of the Russian air defense system, no one has suggested that BDM International did anything improper, but some competitors have complained that the Pentagon may have favored the company because its chairman is Frank Carlucci, a former Defense Secretary. BDM is owned by the Carlyle Group, an investment business whose principals include a number of past Government officials, including Mr. Carlucci and James Baker, the former Secretary of State. Most of the companies competing with BDM International have their own roster of retired Pentagon officials.

Whatever the Pentagon learns from the Russian system must be shared with all U.S. companies developing or manufacturing similar air defense weapons. Any temptation to share information only with Raytheon, maker of the Patriot, should be resisted. The Pentagon's inspector general, as well as the Senate and House Armed Services Committees, should keep close watch on these deals.

Topics of The Times

The City's Schools, Triumphant

Bashing public education in New York City has become a favorite sport. The accepted wisdom is that the public schools are not working, and that City University is a mere shadow of its former intellectual self.

Two recent events offer a more promising perspective. New York City students accounted for one-quarter of the semifinalists in the Westinghouse Science Talent Search, the oldest and most prestigious high school science contest in the nation. The final 10 winners will be announced in March. Meanwhile, a team from Borough of Manhattan Community College won the Pan American chess championship — for the second year in a row — whipping teams from some of the nation's most prestigious universities.

Of 300 Westinghouse semifinalists, 84, or 28 percent, come from New York City public schools. Most attend such high-achieving schools as Stuyvesant (29), Bronx High School of Science (19) and Brooklyn's Midwood High School (16), which, over the years, have concentrated on entering students in the competition and guiding them through the process. But 17 high schools in all five boroughs shared in the glory.

In the chess matches two weeks ago, four wizards from the community college emerged undefeated against 30 other collegiate teams, including Harvard and New York University. This year's team, three young immigrants from Belarus, Montenegro and Azerbaijan and an African-American from the Bronx, represents the rich diversity that has long characterized public education in New York.

Big Apple West

MGM Grand, evidently not content to boast that its Las Vegas hotel is the largest in the world, has an even grander idea — to re-create New York City on 18 acres across the street. Its partner, Primadonna Resorts, claims no less modestly that it has "the world's tallest and fastest roller coaster" at one of its resorts on the Nevada-California state line.

Some New Yorkers may be flattered, others of-

fended, that someone would reproduce their great city in the capital of glitz and gambling. But it shall be. The designers of "New York-New York" — the project's name — promise the Statue of Liberty, the Manhattan skyline, Coney Island fun and rides, "other famous New York landmarks and attractions" and, of course, another outsized hotel-casino.

"A theater" will be included, they say. Just one theater? If that's how they picture New York, N.Y., out there in the West, then they will probably also have taxi drivers who speak English and restaurants where the maître d' actually seats you "in just a few minutes."

Where Are the Snows of Last Year?

Three Connecticut communities — East Hartford, Torrington and Derby — bought snow insurance this winter. After last year's storms, when dozens of towns went far over their snow-removal budgets, it seemed a good bet. Last winter East Hartford spent an extra \$250,000. A policy covering this month and next cost only \$3,250. If it snows a lot, the city collects. But it hasn't snowed a lot, and with El Niño pushing temperatures into the 50's it looks less and less likely.

Insurance against foul weather that might spoil a wedding or a fair or a parade is nothing new, but snow insurance for towns is. The Good Weather Insurance Agency in Salem, Mass., handled two of the three Connecticut contracts for Reliance National Insurance. Each policy is different, but they all require at least two or three storms before they kick in. East Hartford needs three storms with at least three inches of snow. If there are any more three-inches (or deeper) the city gets \$50,000 a storm, with a \$200,000 limit.

Proximity to the nation's insurance capital hasn't helped. The National Weather Service at Bradley International Airport, just to the north, has recorded only 4.1 inches of snow so far this month, and only 9.1 inches so far this season. Last year at this time there had already been 29.5 inches; all told, 89.5 inches. That would have been a good year to be insured. This year, if there is not enough snow for the insurance to pay off, it at least means the towns are saving a bundle on snow removal.

We've Come Far Since the Victorians . . .

To the Editor:

Gertrude Himmelfarb suggests in "The Victorians Get a Bad Rap" (Op-Ed, Jan. 9) that a return to the values of Victorian Britain might help solve America's social problems. Her article only illustrates, however, how bad history makes for bad politics.

For example, to support her case for the replacement of public provision by private charity, she asserts that in Victorian Britain such charity was taken seriously not only by the upper classes: in 1890, a survey showed half of the "respectable" working classes making regular charitable contributions. This is tendentious.

It is, anyway, implausible to suggest that half the members of this class, themselves only saved from degrading poverty or destitution by constant effort and good luck, were in the habit of giving a part of their overstretched income to help those even less well off.

What the historical evidence shows is that a substantial number of members of this class were contributing to organizations such as friendly and provident societies. This was not charity, but insurance for themselves and their families.

It is less defensible still for Ms. Himmelfarb to urge a return to the principles of the New Poor Law of 1834, one of the most thoroughly revised and detested pieces of legislation passed in the 19th century. Is she seriously urging that the most powerful and affluent society in the world should now reinvent the early-19th-century workhouse and set the unemployed to do 10 hours' labor a day breaking stones?

Should the United States try to model itself on an early-19th-century society that was still overwhelmingly agricultural, aristocratic and An-

glican? If reflecting on the history of the Victorian period were to yield any useful guidance for the present, it would surely be by considering the kinds of measures that enabled our predecessors to address some of the problems of an increasingly urbanized and industrialized society.

Regulation of working hours and conditions, legal protection of trade union activity, collective provision of essential services, publicly financed schools, libraries and museums, taxes on higher incomes, and death duties on inherited wealth — these too were Victorian achievements.

Modern versions of these measures may or may not be appropriate to today's America. But recognizing their place in the historical picture may at least help prevent "Victorian" from becoming a code word for

Sweatshops, Etc.

To the Editor:

Re "The Victorians Get a Bad Rap" (Op-Ed, Jan. 9): What a pity to see scholarship distorted by ideology, to see crumbs amassed to support arguments for a social agenda.

Victorian morals! Really! Sweatshops in which children and pregnant women died on the job, where families were separated by 7-day weeks, 12-hour days and uncertainty of work the next day. Racism and anti-Semitism as ways of understanding and ordering the world.

Debtors' prisons and prisons like jails. As for orphanages, one wonders why Boys Town is more reliable evidence than Dickens.

Let us not also forget the painful reality of stigma. It is not a corset to shape the body but a harsh degradation of human life. It was, after all, not only the unchaste mother who was hounded in Salem-like fashion, but children born out of wedlock too.

Are we invited back to the class excess involved in this flawed morality in the context of which upper-class men could and did simply hit and run, leaving others to bear the dubious moral education of stigma? How ironic to argue the relative cost benefits of orphanages. It's not an argument that is popular about any other area of social spending.

When, after a few years, orphanages don't work, will we continue to support them, or will we return once again to a more comprehensive social policy and recognize the cost benefits of long-term commitment to social programs, even as we refine and improve them? COLIN GREER

New York, Jan. 10, 1995

The writer is president of the New World Foundation, which finances public-service and community-renewal projects.



a particularly unlovely blend of myopic individualism and coercive moralism.

Princeton, N.J., Jan. 10, 1995
The writer is professor of English and history at Cambridge University.

... But the More Things Change, the More They Stay the Same

To the Editor:

During 1932-33 my mother was forced by economic circumstances to place my brother and me in a diocesan orphanage for boys, Toner Institute, just outside Pittsburgh. He was 9, and I was 7, and we were there about a year.

What was it like? The care givers, black-clad nuns, carried short lengths of rubber hose, which they used freely, and had police whistles to quell disturbances. Bed-wetting was endemic. For that, the punishment was to stand outside the refectory holding the stained and smelly bedding while the other students marched into breakfast.

For more serious infractions — like attempts at running away, which were frequent — boys had their heads shaved and were compelled to wear long dresses of overall cloth for weeks.

The food was bad and included white bread spotted with mold and frequent pallid steaks in which a few strings of reddish meat were suspended. A lot of us had diarrhea a lot

of the time, and one could be punished with a hosing for bolting to the toilet at times not permitted.

There was frequent violence, bruising battles among the older boys, fights between certain of these boys and certain nuns with a taste for confrontation, and a steady stream of boys who had reached their teen-age years and were sent off to reform school.

Toner boys received no regular medical attention or nursing care, so that small hurts often developed into serious conditions requiring hospitalization. The hospital was heaven compared with daily life at Toner.

After a year mother's circumstances sufficiently improved, and she took us back home, but not before one of us had become deeply sulen and angry, the other fantasy-ridden and inward-turning.

So what is my point? In 1960 I published a novel based on these orphanage experiences called "Sisters and Brothers," and in 1961 met a Welsh woman who had read the British edition. She was on a board of

visitors to several orphanages in Wales, some public, others under religious auspices, and remarked on the uncanny resemblances between what I had written and the conditions she encountered on her visits. Nothing had really changed.

In the early 1970's I heard from a man who had been brought up at St. Michael's Orphanage in Hopewell, N.J. He had found my book in the library and was convinced that I must have based it on the years he spent at St. Michael's.

In the 1980's a family therapist who had read my book and who had spent several years visiting St. Michael's as a social worker remarked that the only real difference between the two places was that St. Michael's also had a population of girls.

Do those who opt for orphanages as a solution to the crisis in welfare care about what happens to needy children, or do they seriously believe that such institutions have changed or can change very much over the years? JULIAN MOYNAN

Princeton, N.J., Jan. 10, 1995

Israel Derails Peace With New Settlements

To the Editor:

Israel's Labor Government is looking more and more like Yitzhak Shamir's, which massively built up settlements in the West Bank and Gaza from 1988 until 1992. While Israel has made some important concessions to Palestinians at the negotiating table, its slow movement "on the ground" has prompted a Palestinian move to the right.

The call by four leading mainstream Palestinian officials to suspend negotiations with the Labor Government (news article, Jan. 10) shows that after an admirable start, Labor has been ineffective in advancing policies that support Palestinian rights to land and independence from Israel in real terms. Radical Palestinian militants and Jewish extremists are doing their part to derail the peace process.

But Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres share the blame, undermining their own moves from September 1993 by advancing on dysfunctional, Shamir-like courses, like expanding settlements near Eilat and in and around Jerusalem. By putting more Israelis on land that would belong to Palestinians, Labor reduces the level of autonomy possible for any Palestinian authority that might come to be. Centrist Palestinian leaders have no choice but to move to the right.

The State Department must strongly voice its sound policy against settlement expansion and take steps — perhaps providing loans to Israel for compensation to Jewish settlers who choose to leave the West Bank — to strengthen liberals and the left who support peace. Without continuous United States involvement to overcome obstacles, Palestinian and Jewish rightists will only grow stronger and kill the peace process. ANDREW VOGEL

New York, Jan. 10, 1995

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters must include writer's name, address and telephone number. We regret that we cannot acknowledge unpublished letters. Those selected may be shortened for space reasons. Fax letters to (212) 556-3622 or send to Letters to the Editor, The New York Times, 229 West 43d Street, New York, N.Y. 10036.

Trade Isn't Just About Dollar Signs

To the Editor:

When Thomas L. Friedman bought a compact disk of Walt Disney's "Lion King" in China for \$4.50, he stumbled onto something of more consequence than the fact that American producers are being cheated out of their royalties by Chinese factories producing CDs without permission (column, Jan. 8).

He notes that it is China's political and military elite who own a lot of the pirate factories and who benefit from the corruption. But if the well-fed among the Chinese are so prone to corruption, consider the peasant watching a black-and-white television in a hut next to a rice paddy.

The most widely watched American television show abroad is "Baywatch." All over the world, millions of people, mostly in the third world, go to bed at night imagining that life in the United States is what they have seen on television. Is it any

surprise that Chinese peasants indenture themselves for \$30,000 and travel for months in the holds of decrepit ships to the land where the streets are paved with gold?

Transnational American businesses see only one thing when they look at foreign countries: millions of consumers. But there is much more to international trade than dollar signs.

For example, as cargo ships traverse the world, they take on water as ballast for cargo. Now on Lake Champlain in New York, friends tell me they can no longer drink water from this fresh-water lake. Too polluted? Not at all. The reason is that mussels, which are not indigenous to the lake, have blocked their pipes. The mussels, imported by cargo ships discharging ballast, have no natural predator in Lake Champlain, and so their numbers grow rampant.

Los Angeles, Jan. 9, 1995

Will Children Go the Way of the Mule Deer?

To the Editor:

A Jan. 8 Week in Review article reports that many parents let children make decisions at the market on "sugared cereals, cookies and salted snacks."

A news item the same day reports that two dozen mule deer were shot by rangers at the Grand Canyon after they became so addicted to snack food and candy handed out by visitors that they lost their ability to digest vegetation, almost starving to death. Junk food was called "the crack cocaine of the deer world."

Most parents are aware that chil-

dren's addiction to junk food can result in lifelong eating habits that increase tooth decay, as well as leading to obesity and heart disease.

A lesser acknowledged danger is the condition that afflicted the mule deer: inability to process vegetation. Snack foods, candy, burgers and fries contain little fiber. As much as fiber is promoted by cereal companies, there is precious little in the processed, custom-colored cereals many of us feed our children. We know what happens to mule deer who are addicted to junk food. What do we do with a human generation so addicted? KENNETH PEARSON

New York, Jan. 10, 1995

Newtonian Misnomer

To the Editor:

Your Jan. 11 front-page article describes the thoughts and actions of House Speaker Newt Gingrich as "Newtonian." Though meant in fun, this misnomer is a disservice to one of the world's great minds and confuses science lovers everywhere. It's like calling Robinson Jeffers's poetry "Jeffersonian." May I suggest "Newtonian." MARSHALL WILLIAMS

New Haven, Jan. 11, 1995

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Foreign Affairs
THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Ha Noi Or Ha Loi

Every morning in Hanoi, I walk around the pagodas on Hoan Kiem Lake, and every morning I stop by this little Vietnamese woman crouched on the sidewalk with her bathroom scale, and every morning I give her a dollar and weigh myself. That woman and her scale, probably her only possession in life, pretty well sum up Asia today: Everyone is in business, and whatever you've got, no matter how big or small — sell it, trade it, barter it, leverage it, rent it, but do something with it to turn a profit.

It is micro-entrepreneurs like my weight-watcher who are the foundation stones of what is called the "Asian economic miracle." The gains they have made here are astounding. But there is another side to this Asian economic miracle. It is the story of what is being lost amidst the gains.

While in Hong Kong I took a tour across the border to the Chinese boom town of Shenzhen. Shenzhen was a village 15 years ago; today it houses 2.5 million people. What I remember most about the tour were two buildings — one that I could barely see and one that I could see all too well. The one I could barely see was the tallest building in Shenzhen. The air there is so polluted that from a distance all I could make out of this high-rise was a silhouette. The building I could see perfectly well was the Eiffel Tower. The Chinese have built a good-size replica of it at a Shenzhen theme park.

The Shenzhen Eiffel Tower typifies the rootlessness of the Asian boom towns, where the ancient past has been bulldozed, the immediate past — Communism — has been discredited and the present doesn't

The price of a miracle.

seem to have any tradition holding it together.

Throughout the tour, our young Chinese guide stressed only two points. One was that people in northern China believed in education, but people in the south "only wanted to make money." The other was, "We may not have time to see the Panda because of the traffic jams." At every tour stop, he ordered us to rush, rush, rush or we would get stuck in the day-long Shenzhen gridlock and miss that panda. The whole tour left me hankering for a good dose from Mao's little red book — anything that suggested a belief system was still alive, beyond pandas and profits.

Even some Asian armies have abandoned Clausewitz for Coopers & Lybrand. China's army now gets half its budget from its vast empire of corporations. Corruption is so widespread that the army newspaper recently warned troops against the "worship of money and disregard for military matters."

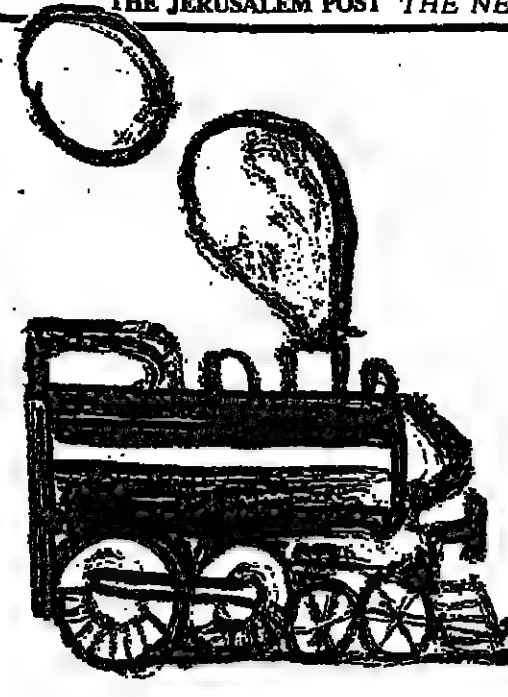
Vietnam, a latecomer to this free market, is struggling with how to catch up with the other Asians, without having its traditions, national solidarity and environment swept away. It looks like a losing battle. Because of a lack of funds, every Vietnamese ministry has been ordered to start businesses to support itself.

The Vietnamese Foreign Ministry press officer, who arranged all my appointments with officials, was so helpful. And when we were finished she said: "That will be \$25. Sorry, you know, market economy." The Ministry of Health here sponsors ballroom dancing on Friday nights to raise cash. The Hanoi golf and country club is built on land leased from the Vietnamese Army. If the Ho Chi Minh Trail existed today, it would be a toll road.

But I fear this shortcut to capitalism will haunt the Vietnamese. When ministries become the biggest entrepreneurs, it means there is no civil service upholding the public interest. That is why bridges collapse in Seoul and why 12-year-old girls are trapped in factory fires in China. It was Asian capitalist talent — harnessed by a professional civil service — that made Japan, Singapore and Hong Kong rich and stable.

Hanoi is the most charming big city left in Asia: people still play badminton on the sidewalks here every morning. But for how long? Hanoi is below sea level and the rampant unlicensed building now taking place here is destroying the dikes and filling in the lakes needed to keep Hanoi afloat. When it rains, the city now floods terribly.

"Many years ago people said development means killing ourselves, but no one believed them," said N. T. Hieu, a young Vietnamese development expert. "In some ways, we believe it now. Ha Noi means the city between the rivers. But some people who come here from the countryside pronounce the N as L, and call it 'Ha Loi.' Ha Loi means 'flooded.' I hope in a few years Ha Noi will not be known as Ha Loi."



By Tony Hiss

The train glides out of a curve and accelerates so smoothly that the leap on the cherry-wood table in front of you barely rattles. The seat is so soft it makes a Lexus feel like a Jeep bouncing along a gully. There's nothing to do but stare out the spotless picture window at a long cornfield bobbing in a slow breeze.

Same route, different ride. Ducking between two elderly ladies holding each other to keep from falling, their arms shaking slightly as they grab for luggage racks that have no handholds, you lurch over and squint through a tiny, smeared, dark brown lozenge of a window for some idea of where you are. Is that a cornfield or a parking lot?

These are both Amtrak experiences of recent vintage. The cornfield is in Maryland, north of Baltimore. The first ride was on a high-speed X-2000 from Sweden that Amtrak was using a couple of years ago for its express Metroliner run between New York and Washington; the second was on a local, American-built Amtrak train over the same tracks.

As Amtrak, the national railroad passenger system, enters its ninth crisis — at least — since it was set up by Congress in 1971, it's easy to see why a lot of people aren't sure whether they're looking at a deficit-ridden, chronic money-waster or a small railroad with clean, sometimes speedy trains that usually arrive exactly when they're supposed to. Or both.

Congress seems equally confused. Representative Bud Shuster, the new Republican chairman of the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee, has said he thinks there's a place for Amtrak in the national transportation system. But Bob Dole, the new Senate majority leader, is promising to roll back Federal programs "from A to Z — from Amtrak to zoological studies."

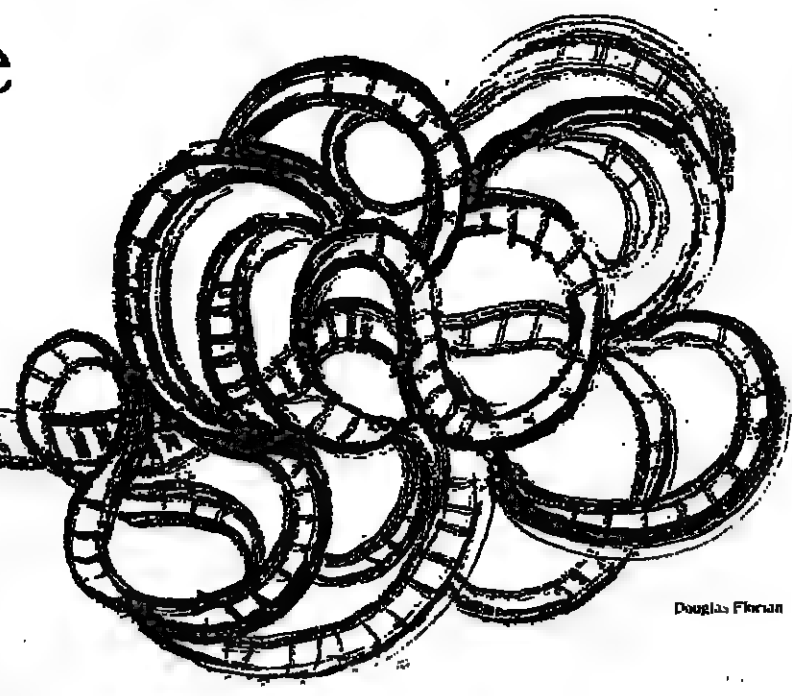
It was bipartisan Congressional support that brought Amtrak into being in the first place. By the late 1980's, more than a fifth of U.S. railroads, including the gigantic Penn Central, had plunged into or were teetering close to bankruptcy. When Amtrak began life, with 200 passenger trains a day, it had a management team drawn largely from airlines, not railroads, about a thousand castoff coaches, diners and sleepers, many 20 or 30 years old, and a name no one had ever heard of. ("Railpax," another possibility, had seemed too open to ridicule as "Railpox.")

Amtrak faced its first major crisis in 1978, when the Carter Administration pushed Congress to make deep cuts in service to save money. The 1980's brought intensified White House hostility, and, as if it were some kind of national holiday, annual Amtrak crises. David Stockman, President Ronald Reagan's budget director, called the railroad a symbol of all that was wrong with big government.

But between crises, Amtrak was getting the hang of things: it hired experienced railroad people as managers, added new routes when it could, negotiated better contracts with its unions and ordered attractive new passenger cars, like the big-windowed superliners used out west.

The public started to take notice. From 1972 to 1993, ridership went up by a third. In Maine, one of five states with no Amtrak service at all, voters in 1990 decided to put up \$3 million in local money to bring Amtrak trains to the state, restoring passenger service between Portland and Boston for the first time since 1963. The same year,

Getting Our Train To Run on Time



Californians approved a \$2 billion bond issue, which included money for nine new quieted-down, 110-mile-an-hour Amtrak-operated locomotives that even look speedy, with raked, streamlined snouts.

Amtrak's best trains — the 125-mile-an-hour Metroliners that run between New York and Washington in two hours and 37 minutes — consistently carry more passengers than either of the city-to-city air shuttles. And trains that can make the trip between New York and Boston in three hours instead of five, which should be in place in 1998, are likely to drag so many people off airplanes that Bostonians can stop thinking they need a second airport.

Yet Amtrak's latest crisis, which made headlines just before Christmas, at first glance looks like the coup de grace. The railroad announced that it would fire or lay off 5,500 of 24,000

Amtrak's worst crisis isn't fatal — yet.

employees (including 900 managers) and, as of next month, convert several now daily long-distance trains into trains that run only three or four days a week. On April 1, a third of Amtrak's 230 daily trains will vanish utterly. These include all trains to Atlantic City and the train to Montreal.

Those cuts will make Amtrak smaller than the day it was born or at any time since. They are self-imposed, an attempt to cover a \$200 million shortfall in the operating budget. And they come despite real

efforts to make do with less: Federal money paid for half of Amtrak's operating costs in 1980 but only 20 percent in 1993. No other passenger railroad in the world counts on its customers to bring it that close to breaking even.

But while Amtrak has been weaning itself from the Feds, it has also been getting starved by them — of capital it desperately needs to replace old equipment. The railroad also faces tough competition from clever airlines, such as Southwest, which can charge low fares because they've worked out a spectacular deal with their unions; the pilots help the flight attendants clean the planes, so they stay on the ground for only 15 minutes.

Is there any reason to feel hopeful about Amtrak? Consider a major competitor. Cars started reshaping America decades before Amtrak came along. The irony is that cars have given us what may be a "post-car world." There will be perhaps 320 million Americans in another 25 years, but most will live in places with names like Los Diego (an amalgam of Los Angeles and San Diego) — city-regions 100 to 300 miles wide. And these emerging megalopolises are likely to be too big for cars and trucks to move through smoothly while too small for airplanes.

And just about right for trains. In Europe, where hundreds of billions of dollars will be spent on railroads over the next quarter century, airlines are counting on the railroads to help get them out of the short-haul

business so they can concentrate on longer and more profitable flights. Here in the United States, fierce winters stop cars and planes cold. Even in good weather, trains carry millions of people who don't drive or can't afford to (including an increasing number of older people who otherwise would be entirely dependent on family and friends).

Yet fewer than 1 percent of travelers move around on trains between cities (commuter service is more popular). What Amtrak has to do is sell itself, and to do that it needs modern equipment and modern work rules, so that conductors, for instance, can help keep trains clean. And it needs to promote all the profitable shorter runs with old-fashioned pizzazz.

None of the means of transportation we know of can pay its own way, even though we have two words for public support: "investment" when it's for something we approve of and "subsidy" when it's not. The Federal highway bill allows states to spend half their subsidy on whatever form of surface transportation they want — subways, ferries, even bike paths.

But not on Amtrak. When the highway bill comes up for reauthorization next year, Amtrak has to get cut in on this deal. That is, if a new and much smaller Amtrak can show Congress and the rest of us that it can stick around for the ride.

Journal
FRANK RICH

Jo Rodham March

If you doubt that powerful women still drive American men crazy, try to find any men at Hollywood's new hit adaptation of "Little Women." The audiences are large, but, according to the president of CinemaScore, a national survey outfit, "Males are not showing up to this movie." If a woman is going to be strong, she had better be the sexual predator of undying male fantasies, like Demi Moore in "Disclosure," rather than the intellectually strong Jo March, who has the temerity to reject the hunk next door.

But you don't have to go to the movies to see this scenario play out. Just take another look at the great Connie Chung-Kathleen Gingrich dust-up of '95.

The received version of this story has it that the poor, innocent victims were a kindly old mom and her son — sandbagged and slurred respectively by the unscrupulous media. The truth is the exact reverse: The wronged parties were Ms. Chung, who was falsely accused of violating journalistic ethics, and Hillary Clinton, who was tarred as a "bitch."

As powerful women, however,

The First Lady as scapegoat.

they have few defenders. Most journalists beyond CBS have bashed the only female anchor in network news despite the fact that a replay of "Eye to Eye" unambiguously reveals that Mrs. Gingrich volunteered her notorious remark with scant coaxing. And as for the First Lady, the forgotten woman of this affair, no one so much as considered giving her an apology, even if only out of minimal respect for her office. To the contrary, the Speaker's mom, having learned no one would gainsay her, was emboldened to call Mrs. Clinton "a bitch" again in a subsequent TV interview.

This is in keeping with the least covered of post-election stories: the emergence of Mrs. Clinton as the nation's No. 1 scapegoat. Even New York's First Lady, Libby Pataki, attacked Mrs. Clinton gratuitously last week — doesn't she have something better to do with her time? — and by Thursday night David Letterman's

Top Ten list was full of rude suggestions as to how the First Lady might improve her image.

Democrats have piled on, too. As the nonpartisan Hillary Clinton Quarterly points out, a standard intra-party rationale for the Nov. 8 fiasco is the equation "Hillary = Health Care Reform = Left-Wing Big Government = Crushing Defeat for the Democrats." Eleanor Clift, the TV talking head long considered the most knee-jerk of Hillary cheerleaders, is now championing Nancy Reagan as a more effective First Lady "on substantive issues," in part because Mrs. Reagan's exercise of power took place behind closed doors.

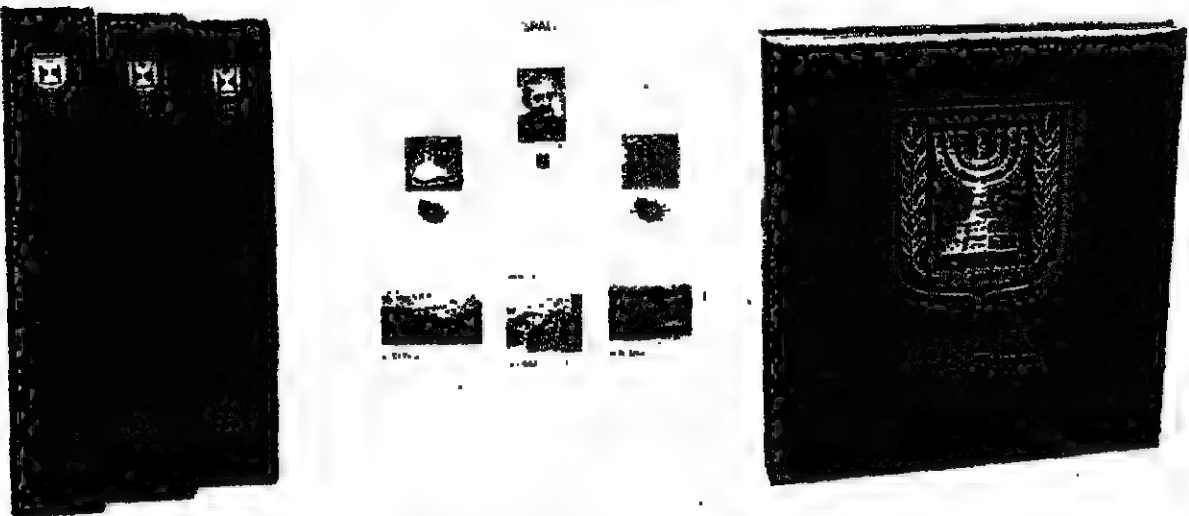
Mrs. Clinton can't win for losing. When she exercises her clout in private, she's Lady Macbeth; or perhaps, as post-inauguration rumors had it, a lamp-throwing lesbian. If she does so in public, she's a "bitch."

In less than three years she has also been the Yuppie Wife From Hell, Florence Nightingale, the ditzy prophet of the Politics of Meaning, the \$100,000 cartoon artist, a Superwoman effortlessly fielding her roles as mother and wife on top of health-care duties, and stealth candidate for President in 2000.

Not even Sally Field in "Sybil" had so many personalities. Does Mrs. Clinton? The standard take on these constantly shifting roles — and the many hairdos that have accompanied them — is that she simply doesn't know who she is and remakes herself monthly either to find herself or to pander to the voters. But it's just as plausible that this First Lady is a complex mixture of many traits — some appealing, some not — and that she has provoked so much hostility because she exercises the full power of her personality, not just political power. She refuses to censor or pigeonhole herself to fit any stereotypical image, pre- or post-feminist, that might freeze her image for easy mass consumption.

Did Mrs. Clinton make a mess of health-care reform by holding task-force meetings in secret, eschewing compromise and producing an unpassable bill? Yes. But the depth of rage directed against her for this and other transgressions far exceeds the crimes. You don't have to love Mrs. Clinton, or share her politics, to feel that her demonization tells us much less about who she is than it does about a country that still feels threatened when its little women grow tall.

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OPERA

Verdi Edits Himself, Grudgingly, Brilliantly



Vladimir Chernov, background center, and other cast members rehearse "Simon Boccanegra" at the Metropolitan Opera—Immediate conflicts and confrontations matter more than the cumulative message.

By WILL CRUTCHFIELD

Giuseppe Verdi has the reputation of a straight shooter, a decisive and outspoken man of conviction, and in many ways it's deserved. But he had a peculiar psychological quirk: whenever he was ambivalent about a course of action (which was often), he tended to make up his mind by firing off a letter declaring vociferously for the contrary of what he would eventually do. This was true of matters as weighty as accepting a contract for an opera and as slight as permitting the transposition of an aria, or even sending a list of his decorations and honors to the Italian senate.

So when Giulio Ricordi, the scion of the house that published Verdi's operas, set about persuading Verdi to touch up "Simon Boccanegra," an 1857 score that was not getting performed and therefore not bringing in any royalties, he may not have been totally discouraged to receive the following communication: "I received yesterday a large parcel which I suppose to be a score of 'Simone.' If you come to Sant' Agata six months, a year, two or three, etc., from now you will find it untouched just as you sent it to me. I hate unnecessary things."

That was in May 1879. Maybe in six months it was still true. In a year — as we can tell when the topic resurfaces in correspondence late in 1880 — Verdi had obviously given it some thought. In two, the revision was on stage at La Scala, and in "three, etc.," a partly new Verdi masterpiece was making the rounds of the world's theaters. On Thursday evening it comes back to the Metropolitan Opera — which has a strong tradition in this score since the 1930's — in a new production by Giancarlo del Monaco, with Alexander Chernov, Plácido Domingo and Kiri Te Kanawa leading the cast.

Verdi was a brilliant editor. Some of his best music was written for revisions or found its best form when he touched it up during a revision. The small but telling repairs in "La Traviata" after its initial failure in 1853 are so beautiful as to make one wish that he had gone back over every score. Indeed, after "Rigoletto" (1851) there is only one opera, "Un Ballo in Maschera" (1858), that he left entirely alone after its premiere.

"Simon Boccanegra" is Verdi's most radical reworking of all. An entire scene was added to the original story, the Council Chamber scene, which becomes the highlight of the work and ushers in the force, economy and harmonic resource of "Otello." In some ways it was a sketch, or a stretching of the compositional muscles, for "Otello." Verdi had not composed for the theater in a decade, and seemed to have ceased altogether after the Requiem in 1874. The librettist for the revisions was Arrigo Boito, whose collaboration with Verdi the Ricordis had carefully nurtured and who was already involved in drafting the text of the Shakespearean masterpiece that followed in 1887. The Simon and Gabriele of that Scala "Boccanegra" production, Victor Maurel and Francesco Tamagno, would become Iago and Othello.

The "Boccanegra" of 1857 was a sad work in dark, rich browns and reds. A story of blood rivalries rending 14th-century Genoa, it touched Verdi's deep, often pessimistic feeling for Italy's history and present. The reunion of a father with a long-lost daughter kindled responses of

Will Crutchfield recently conducted Purcell's "Dido and Aeneas" at the Caramoor Center for the Arts in Katonah, N.Y.

ecstatic tenderness; we are now likely to hear in them a hopeless fantasy of reconciliation with the daughter Verdi and his mistress Giuseppina Streponi seem to have abandoned to charity adoption in 1851. Musical ideas that had figured prominently in "Il Trovatore" and "La Traviata" are carried farther and enriched. Nothing is allowed to compromise the prevailing tone: the love music, which flowed with brilliance or tragic passion or sweetness in the operas just before and after, is here kept muted; in each happy moment one senses the sadness that waits to break upon it.

If the composer had left the opera in this form, the Verdi revival would still have reached it, because its beauties are many. In its revision, with miraculous little harmonic and instrumental balm applied to every roughness of the first version, it is, as the Verdi scholar Julian Budden says, "a pearl of immeasurable price."

Even so, it is unlikely ever to find the place in the standard repertory that its musical riches will continue

'Boccanegra' is essentially about one thing: the love of relatedness.

to urge for it. The internal factors weighing against wide popularity, and against easy enjoyment in the theater, are so great that the audience cannot be expected to demand "Boccanegra" of its own accord. But the riches are greater yet, and so it will always be revived — forced on the public, one might say, by those who know it. Knowing it, one loves it with the kind of insistence that makes advocates.

The story concerns a historical Doge, Simon Boccanegra, a plebeian corsair elected to that office in 1339 and poisoned in 1363 during his second term. He is remembered for, among other things, his hope that peace for at any rate, unification of Genoa against its enemies could be achieved by the convocation of a council with equal representation of plebeian and patrician parties.

Verdi's source was a drama by Antonio Garcia Gutierrez, who added a complex fictional situation: Boccanegra has fathered an illegitimate child with the daughter of a patrician, Jacopo Fiesco. The mother has died, and the child has disappeared before the prologue, but the latter returns, under a false name, and becomes entwined in various ways in the affairs of the father and grandfather, whose natural partisan enmity is deepened and embittered by the facts of her origin.

But to explain the plot further would be to venture into terrain from which few return unharmed. The first victim was Francesco Maria Piave, the librettist of 1857. Plays always have to be boiled down to make sung librettos, and complicated plays are a great challenge. With all his customary bullying guidance, Verdi could not lead Piave to a successful reduction of Gutierrez; eventually the composer took the libretto out of Piave's hands and had the last stages of work done by Giuseppe Monateili.

Even with the further ministrations of Boito in the 1881 reworking, the libretto drew this bemused assessment from Filippo Filippi, who reviewed the revised opera for La Preservanza: "There is no rhyme or reason nor any apparent justification of the strange comings and goings of the characters; traitors hang around to administer poisons most comfortably into glasses set up on

purpose; prisoners walk freely around the Doge's palace and can lie in ambush to kill him. ... People always arrive on time to prepare or disentangle a catastrophe."

To this one might add that a great number of conflicts in the opera would just evaporate if either Boccanegra or his daughter simply explained their kinship, and it is far from clear why neither does so. When the revised opera reached Vienna the following year, Johannes Brahms attended and found much to admire, but "after a while" he ceased "all investigations into the meaning of the libretto," according to a friend's memoirs. Many a noted author has stumbled into inaccuracies in attempting a synopsis. Boito himself misunderstood Fiesco's presence in the Doge's palace in Act II.

"Boccanegra" reveals, probably more than any of Verdi's other operas, the closest thing to a systematic flaw in his dramaturgy. It is a dramaturgy of haste and of immediate situations: he was attracted to a subject most often by the predicaments, the conflicts and confrontations into which the characters are thrown. If the surrounding story was coherent and delivered some kind of cumulative message, so much the better, but sometimes it did not. Narrative coherence was not necessary to Verdi's kind of theatrical inspiration; patient unfolding of a story line was antithetical to it.

In some works — "La Traviata," "Rigoletto," "Aida" and the Shakespeare operas — the situations move rapidly and cohere magnificently. In others — "Il Trovatore," "I Vespri Siciliani," "La Forza del Destino" and "Don Carlo" among the mature works — it is not clear what the overall story meant to the composer: what mattered were certain themes that ran through them and the situations for which he could imagine so much musical force. (In this he is the opposite of Wagner, for whom the overall story is always the point and no development can be slighted.) "Boccanegra" belongs to that second group: the situations are terrific and moving, but it's awfully difficult to know what is going on.

This disposition often made it an onerous chore for Verdi to tie his strong situations together with expository tissue. His struggles with "Don Carlos" and its revisions speak volumes on this; for instance, after the death of the Marquis of Posa, there is a brief scene of a popular insurrection suppressed. It is awkwardly placed after an expansive musical number (the death scene), but it is necessary for other aspects of the plot to make sense.

Nevertheless, the scene was suppressed at the premiere and in many subsequent productions, and when Verdi made a revised version, he insisted to his librettists that "it must go presto, prestissimo, prestissimo, quick, quick, quick, quick, quick, right up to the end for many reasons." Even in the revised version the insurrection was often left out in performance, and one can't help feeling that Verdi was in sympathy with the cut.

There is a corresponding problem in "Boccanegra." In Act I, Scene 1, Boccanegra recognizes his long-lost daughter; in Scene 2 (in either version), we learn that she has been abducted, and then she reappears dramatically. The circumstances of her abduction occupy a whole act of the Gutierrez drama, and in fact the revelation of Boccanegra's paternity takes place during the girl's captivity and is the lever by which she springs herself free. It's never clear in the opera exactly how she manages that, and only scarcely clear what relation her captor Lorenzo has to the plot of the opera. (He is conspiring with the

the Doge.)

At least the immediate reason she is taken to him is stated: the courtier Paolo Albiani hoped to marry her, but when Boccanegra discovers she is his daughter, he tells his old ally to give up all hope (typically, without saying why); Paolo then conspires with another courtier to have her abducted to Lorenzo's palace. But this is done in a two-page conspiratorial allegro, "presto, prestissimo, prestissimo," tucked in between the great recognition duet and the curtain.

Already in 1882, the year after the premiere of the revised version, this was being left out, as it used to be at the Met and elsewhere, exchanging relative obscurity for total darkness. How many sitting in the theater understand just why Paolo is being made to curse himself at the end of the Council Chamber scene? For that matter, stage directors have

often misunderstood this moment: Eduard Hanslick, reviewing the Vienna premiere, reported that the scene was spoiled by having the entire chorus point at Paolo and curse him directly, as if his guilt had been revealed. Incredible? The same goof was made in the Metropolitan production adopted in 1984 from the Chicago Lyric Opera.

That narrative incoherence, even at this extreme, does not disable the opera is the proof of Verdi's situational approach. The causes and outcomes of the events are not important; the basic human relationships and conflicts that happen to be thrown into relief by those events are important. "Boccanegra" is essentially about one thing: the love of relatedness, personal and societal, and the way senseless hatreds, rivalries and grudges can wreck it.

It would be claiming too much to say that that's all you need to feel the

force of "Boccanegra" in the theater — the confusion *does* take some toll, and a concentrated half-hour with a synopsis is highly recommended — but that is the core. And it is to that core that the added scene — which, except for providing the new occasion for Amelia's reappearance, is only shakily connected to the plot — speaks.

The Doge's great plea for peace among a common people is one of the most eloquent pages in all of opera. One feels it not as an island of sense in a sea of chaos but rather as a right focal point into which all surrounding matter is concentrated, a crystallization of Verdi's deepest preoccupations: his patriotic idealism; his intense paternal and filial feeling; his burning engagement with the human destructiveness that he believed in perhaps more strongly than anything else and fought with all his heart.

FAMILY FILMS

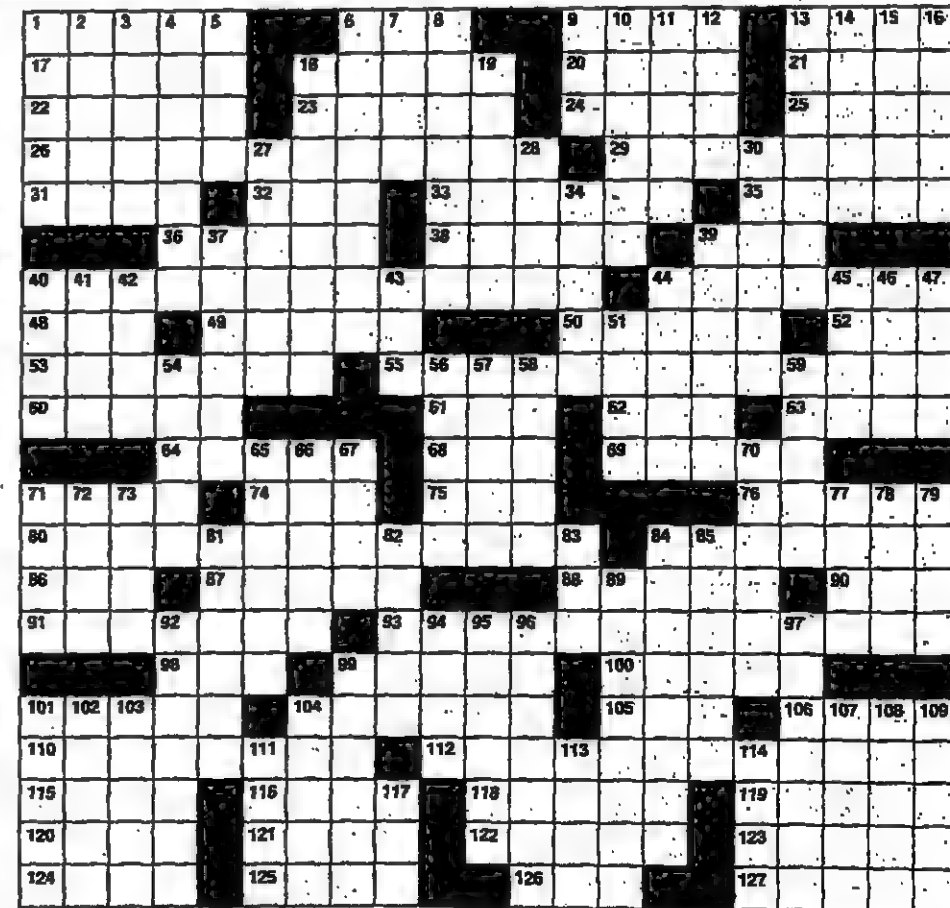
BY ERNIE FURTADO / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

ACROSS

- 1 Rhythmic music in 4/4 time
- 6 Teutonic cry
- 9 Drink topped with nutmeg
- 13 Rotters
- 17 All points bulletin
- 18 Words after "You can't fire me!"
- 20 Shine's companion
- 21 Early TV backdrop
- 22 "saturated fats"
- 23 Watch over
- 24 As well
- 25 Carriage
- 26 Marion Brando title role
- 29 Jean Stapleton title role
- 31 Actress Thompson
- 32 — poison
- 33 Demonstrate
- 35 Lights
- 36 Wynonna's mom
- 38 Opposite of fortis, in phonetics
- 39 Cliff-dwelling bird
- 40 Fred Astaire title role
- 44 Pounds
- 45 William Tell's home
- 49 Remove by dissolving
- 50 Iniquities
- 52 Bulldog
- 53 Travel guide, of a sort

- 55 Faye Dunaway title role
- 60 "That is —"
- 61 Robert Burns's "The Bonnie — Thing"
- 62 Poetic dusk
- 63 Christian and others
- 64 Lachrymose
- 68 Sit still for
- 69 Turkish title
- 71 Patient's complaint
- 74 Female goat
- 75 Jargon suffix
- 76 Availing
- 80 Frisella Lane and others' title roles
- 84 Black, in a way
- 86 Common "Wheel of Fortune" purchase
- 87 With 123-Across
- 88 About one-ninth of an orchestra
- 90 Friend of Pooh
- 91 Isengrim's foe in fable
- 93 Elvis Presley and others' title roles
- 98 Cries of pain
- 99 Rhubarb
- 100 French kind
- 101 Poetry-reading noise
- 104 Wound
- 105 Chopin's "Étude — Major"
- 106 Sartre's "My Name Is —"
- 110 Jacques Tati title

- 112 Lon Chaney Jr. title role
- 115 Brief upturn
- 116 Flag down
- 118 Black tea
- 119 Ty's folks
- 120 Old-time in Wiesbaden
- 121 Actress Jeffreys
- 122 See 87-Across
- 123 Sound from the nest
- 124 Imitation morocco
- 125 Canceled
- 126 "Metric" prefix
- 127 Parts of ski runs
- DOWN
- 1 Popeye's buddies
- 2 Hilo hi
- 3 Imitated a Persian
- 4 Highwayman
- 5 — time (never)
- 6 Etching on copperplate
- 7 Snippy
- 8 "... never married, and that's —"
- 9 — Lippo Lippi
- 10 Amy Lowell poem
- 11 Point in question
- 12 Working class member
- 13 Wish, at times
- 14 Name on a "Wanted" poster
- 15 Industrialist John
- 16 Some camcorders
- 18 —



- 19 Tube
- 27 Wags
- 28 Symbol of one's troth
- 30 — Draco (James Bond's wife)
- 34 Japanese-American
- 37 Nocturnal lemur
- 38 Actress Corby et al.
- 40 Conduit
- 41 "King —" of old comics
- 42 Lovers, in a way
- 43 Bijou
- 44 Top of a platter
- 45 Grandpa Walton portrayer
- 46 Lohengrin's love
- 47 Perches
- 51 Prez's stand-in
- 54 "Marius the Epicurean" author
- 56 Wise baby?
- 57 Reagan Attorney General
- 58 This could raise a red flag
- 59 Dogie catcher
- 65 Legendary Robin et al.
- 66 18 holes, generally
- 67 Peterman
- 70 The Merry Macs' — Song
- 71 Way off
- 72 Pucker-David

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

LISTS PARADE LOSTEN
ARTOD USURENS OUTGLE
YOURLUBCHBREAK BAKCIN
ENDS YUE RIF ACE BACIN
SAB THEJACUZZI BIRSE
TEN TURECEIVER VIGAR
ESTEE ROB TORN OLITE
DEPORT ESK PAR UN
VOILE YOURMEMORY SEM
SOFTER RRR SAND JDI
ELF RUST WAS DEND OAF
ATA CHAN TIA OPENY
GAB THEJACUZZI BIRSE
RTO HEE DAD URGENT
ARTUR PHAN RKO ESTES
MARIO SOMEONESEAR ALA
CLAYSON ROD BIG RES
AMEN UNW AIR BAD RICE
RACIER INCOMPUTERDATA
CLAUDE EARLAYS CASEY
HOPMAN TEENSY ABSES

Let them eat cake, and candy too

PARENTING

ELIZABETH KASTOR

LET THEM EAT CAKE! The Case Against Controlling What Your Children Eat, by Ronald Kleinman, M.D., and Michael Jellinek, M.D., with Julie Houston. New York, Villard Books. 292 pp. \$19.95.

No hot dogs; nitrates give them cancer. No candy; sugar makes them hyperactive. No fats, or they'll have heart attacks. No junk food, or they'll grow up obese.

It is time, according to two Harvard doctors, to forget such parental mantras. Their book consists of more than 250 pages of nutritional reassurances for the over-anxious parent.

On nitrates: "... the amount found in most commercially prepared foods is not something parents need to be concerned about. The risk of cancer from these compounds is nil...."

On candy: "The 'sugar high,' if it exists at all, is a very rare situation.... A pleasant association of sweets with happy times and social gatherings probably helps children relax more than it makes them overexcited - unless of course they have been conditioned to associate sweets and candy with guilty moments or overindulgence."

On childhood obesity: "It is important to note that the role of early dietary patterns in promoting obesity later in childhood is surprisingly controversial, and most fat children do not in fact become fat adults."

Pediatric nutritionist Ronald Kleinman and pediatric psychiatrist Michael Jellinek are guided by a research-supported faith in children's innate tendency to get the nutrition they need.

Children, they insist, are self-regulating machines, and if you present them with a range of foods, some of them just fun,

some of them highly nutritious, they will eat well enough.

The doctors, who were aided by writer Julie Houston, also share a philosophical assumption that many familial battles over food are not really about dinner but about control. This explains, they say, why so many struggles over eating occur with toddlers and teens at those times when they are pushing against the boundaries of newly attractive independence and parents are tempted to tighten the very restraints the kids are programmed to resist.

"What are the risks and benefits of control?" Kleinman and Jellinek ask. "Whom is it really for - the parents' needs, the parents' guilt or the well-being of the child? Is this control a feature of the parents' wish to live forever? Do they need to atone for being at work too much?"

Unsettling questions, far more unsettling than the nightly query, "Did she eat enough roughage?"

It is, of course, all too easy for parents to be buffeted by information, by the latest studies and reports and warnings. Because what we put into our children's bodies, or attempt to get them to put into themselves, is such a tangible manifestation of our love and our fears, mealtime has always been fraught with subterranean meanings. And let's not even mention the parallel torment of table manners.

Along with the advice to lighten up, Kleinman and Jellinek offer some practical guides. They explain how growth charts work and provide them to map your child's progress if you fear for his or her physical development. They offer sample diets.

But even parents who are far from obsessed with nutrition may sometimes balk at the authors' attitude. Although they take the very serious threats very serious-



If allowed to choose from a range of foods, children will eat well enough, and parents should lighten up, US researchers say. (Brian Henderson)

ly, devoting, for example, a chapter to eating disorders, they are so routinely dismissive of the concerns many parents have about additives and fat that they risk eliciting a defensively skeptical reaction

from their readers.

But if *Let Them Eat Cake* is far from subtle, it is a useful antidote to the food fears that plague our culture.

(The Washington Post)

Controversial pig is source of hope

EARTHLY CONCERNS

OVORA BEN SHAUL

BRITISH scientists and animal-rights activists squared off last month for a new round of battles in the war between those who see some types of animal exploitation as a solution for pressing human problems, and those who say it is immoral.

Now some environmental groups are also backing the animal-rights groups. This time the controversy centers on Astrid, the first transgenic pig.

When Astrid was no more than a fertilized ovum, the cells were injected with human DNA. It was hoped her genetic makeup would be close enough to the human to create immunological compatibility and allow organ transplants into humans that would be less prone to rejection.

Astrid, a "test-tube baby" piglet born two years ago, is now a healthy young sow; and tests conducted show the "pig with the human heart," as dubbed by the British press, may well be living up to the expectations of the scientists who produced her. She is fertile, and her offspring are carrying the human DNA.

Scientists at a secret location in Cambridgeshire say there is no doubt transgenic pigs are far more compatible with humans than are ordinary pigs. The serious factor of hyperacute rejection seems to be absent.

However, the value of perfusion tests (the only tests done so far), wherein human blood is perfused through the heart of the

donor animal, are limited in their scope and no one will really know how effective it is until the time comes when a transplant is actually attempted.

Because of the acute shortage of donor organs throughout the world, surgeons dream of xenotransplantation. That is, they want to produce a range of transgenic animals for transplants and for treatment - particularly since the use of embryonic human tissue is so controversial, although extremely promising, in the treatment of even cure of several diseases, including Parkinson's and juvenile diabetes.

But the use of transgenic animals is only marginally less controversial. So vociferously have animal-rights activists opposed this new step that Astrid's location is kept secret, and those who created her maintain unlisted telephone numbers and have taken precautions to protect themselves and their families.

The environmentalists feel that transgenic animals might somehow end up into the biotope occupied by wild animals and pollute the native gene banks. Their objection is not to Astrid per se, but to bioengineered species in general, an objection voiced by some but by no means all of the environmental protection groups.

No one has yet reported the reaction of the rabbinate or the Islamic authorities to the idea of such transplants, but we can be sure that they will have something to say about the matter.

A plea bargain is an offer that courts can refuse

LAW REPORT

ASHER FELIX LANDAU

In the Supreme Court, sitting as a Court of Criminal Appeals, before Justices Eliezer Goldberg, Elyahu Mazza and Michael Cheshin, in the matter of Yair and Geula Levy, appellants, versus the State of Israel, respondents (Cr. 1289, 1290/93).

YAIR Levy, a former MK, was the managing director of a nonprofit organization for the advancement of Jewish traditional and religious values, and to help the needy with food, money and housing. The society's income was from government and municipal grants and private contributions.

Since early 1987, Levy embezzled money from the society through its bank accounts, covering his tracks by forgery, false receipts and other means. He was assisted by his wife, Geula, an employee at the bank where the society had its accounts.

Levy and his wife were charged in the Tel Aviv District Court with several offenses. They denied the allegations, and the trial proceeded. After the testimony of some 170 witnesses, and the presentation of some 500 exhibits, the prosecution and the defense reached a plea bargain.

The prosecution lodged an amended indictment, and the couple now admitted the facts alleged. Levy was convicted on 141 counts of forgery in aggravating circumstances, 144 counts of making false entries in the documents of a body corporate and five counts of breach of trust toward a body corporate. The amount involved in his crimes amounted to NIS 311,791. His wife was convicted of forgery.

Under the plea bargain, the prosecution proposed to the court that it sentence Levy to no more than 40 months' imprisonment and a suspended sentence for an unspecified period, and a fine of NIS 275,000. It proposed that Geula Levy be sentenced to a suspended sentence only.

In view of the extreme gravity of the offenses, their scope and the fact that the stolen money had not been returned, the District Court declined to accept the plea bargain. It sentenced Levy to seven years' imprisonment, of which two years would be condi-

tional, and a fine of NIS 275,000. It sentenced his wife to two years' imprisonment, of which 18 months would be conditional, and it permitted her to serve the six-month sentence by doing community service.

The couple then appealed to the Supreme Court.

JUSTICE GOLDBERG delivered the first judgment of the court. The appellants, he said, had submitted that there were insufficient grounds for the District Court's refusal to accept the plea bargain, and counsel for the state had supported this contention.

The prosecution, he continued, had relied on several factors in agreeing to the bargain: the defendants' admission of the facts would shorten the case and save the time both of the court and prosecuting counsel; the latter were required to deal urgently with another matter of great public importance; and the defendants' admission would go far to mollify the police whom Yair Levy had accused of prejudice against Orthodox Sephardim. Moreover, the sentences were reasonable in the circumstances, although Yair Levy's sentence, by itself, was not heavy.

It was clear, he said, that Levy's sentence was not severe. He was a Knesset member during the relevant period, and he systematically embezzled trust monies devoted to a public purpose, none of which he returned.

The question now at issue, he continued, was not whether the sentence imposed was appropriate in the circumstances, but whether the District Court was right in rejecting the plea bargain as inappropriate.

Citing several precedents, he said it was clear that the court was not bound by a plea bargain since it alone was responsible legally and morally for the sentence. The court was to compare the severity of the sentence that the court would pass were it not for the plea bargain. A significant difference between the two would be sufficient to justify rejecting the agreement.

Justice Goldberg said it was difficult to compare sentences in different cases, since each had to be judged on its facts. However, citing Ganor's case (H.C. 935/89;



Geula Levy helped her husband Yair embezzle money from a nonprofit group. (Oscendriver/Israel Sun)



The Jerusalem Post Law Reports, p. 143), he said the court was bound to decide what would be reasonable, taking into account the nature of the offense and the impact on its victims.

He considered precedents of thefts by bank employees and stressed the mitigating influence of an offender's returning his ill-gotten gains, which Levy did not do. Justice Goldberg held that the sentence proposed for Levy in the plea bargain by no means satisfied the deterrent element essential in cases of this kind. The District Court, therefore, rightly declined to confirm the deal and the sentence passed should be confirmed, he said.

Geula Levy's case was different, Justice Goldberg said. She had only carried out her husband's wishes, and she would be burdened with running her home and caring for seven children.

Justice Goldberg proposed, therefore, that Levy's appeal be dismissed, and Geula Levy's appeal be allowed and she be given a suspended sentence.

JUSTICE MAZZA dissented from his colleague. Justice Goldberg based his decision on the relationship between the sentence proposed in the plea bargain, and the sentence the court would otherwise impose. He regarded the prosecution's grounds for the bargain as the dominant factor, bearing in mind that the prosecution would rely on proper considerations as a rule.

He then cited precedents, including the Assis case (Cr.A. 442/91; *The Jerusalem Post*, December 19, 1990). Unless the court held that the prosecution had relied on improper considerations or that the agreement was against the public interest, the court should impose the sentence suggested, he said.

He accepted that the court was responsible for the sentence imposed. But should it withhold its consent, it should do so only when the agreement was clearly against the public interest or did not conform with it.

The District Court had rejected the arrangement, because Levy had not explained to the

He agreed with his colleague regarding the sentence imposed on Geula Levy.

Justice Mazza proposed, therefore, that Levy's appeal be allowed and that he be sentenced in accordance with the plea bargain. Geula Levy's appeal should also be allowed, and she should be sentenced to two years' conditional imprisonment.

JUSTICE CHESHIN disagreed with his colleagues.

Citing many precedents, he analyzed the roles of the principal authorities concerned with criminal justice: the police, the State Attorney's Office and the courts. He emphasized that the sole authority under the law to pass sentence was the courts.

He did not belittle the prosecution's function, but he did not accept Justice Mazza's view that, "as a rule, it would rely on proper considerations." The court had to respect the prosecution's opinions and to weigh them with care. But the prosecution had to inform the court of the reasons for its agreeing to the plea bargain, and the court would then decide whether to accept them. The court was not just an "umpire."

It was to weigh all the factors, including the plea bargain, both in aggravation and in mitigation of the punishment.

Another factor to be weighed was the defendant himself. By admitting the charges and agreeing to the bargain, he placed himself at the court's mercy. He would hope that the court would

accept the prosecution's recommendation, and deal with him lightly. The court could not overlook this human element.

He agreed with the test proposed by Justice Goldberg. The court was the only judge, and the bargain should be honored unless the sentence proposed differed significantly from what was reasonable under the circumstances.

In this case, he took a path between those of his colleagues and proposed that Levy be sentenced to four years' imprisonment, with the remaining portions - suspended sentence and fine - to stand.

He agreed with his colleagues regarding Geula Levy's sentence.

UNDER SECTION 80(c)(2) of the Criminal Procedure Law (Consolidated Version) of 1984, where there is no majority opinion on the type or measure of the sentence, the most severe punishment will be equated with the lesser punishment nearest to it, in this case Justice Cheshin's centrist opinion.

For the above reasons, Levy's appeal was allowed, and his sentence reduced to four years' imprisonment. His wife's appeal was also allowed, and her sentence was suspended.

Ya'acov Rubin and Yehuda Weinstein appeared for the appellants, and Yehoshua Resnick, director of the criminal division of the State Attorney's Office, appeared for the state.

The judgments were given on December 28, 1994.

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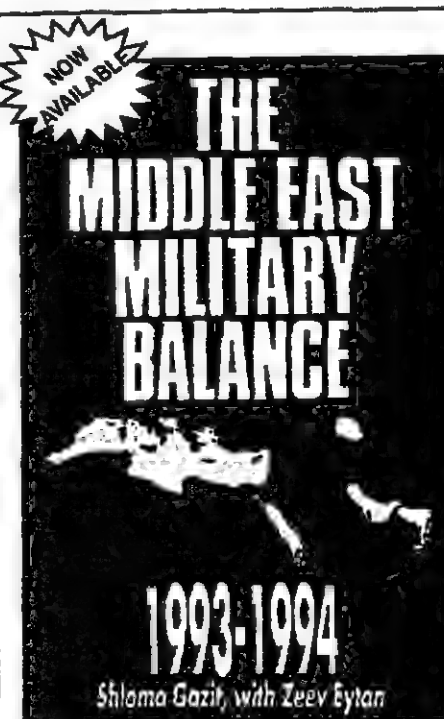
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THE MIDDLE EAST MILITARY BALANCE 1993-1994
Edited by Shlomo Gazit, with Zeev Eytan

The tenth annual edition of the Middle East Military Balance, published by Tel Aviv University's prestigious Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies comprises, as always, a thorough, up-to-date listing of all military and related strategic capabilities of all countries in the region, as well as the PLO; comparative tables and detailed glossary. The volume's *Survey of Strategic Developments* includes an extensive analytic description of the Israel-Arab peace process, along with detailed and innovative chapters on the Iranian threat, the impact of new technologies on the strategy balance, Israel's qualitative edge, arms control and non-conventional proliferation in the region, Palestinian and Hizbullah terrorism, and the American and European roles in the peace process.

The Middle East Military Balance 1993-1994 comprises approx. 500 pages with appendices and maps. It is edited by Major (General) (res) Shlomo Gazit, a former head of IDF Intelligence and currently a senior research associate at the Jaffee Center. Hardcover.

JP Price NIS 99.00

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MONDAY, JANUARY 16, 1995

State replies to petition against stock tax

MAKING stock prices as of the first of this year the base price for calculating the capital gains tax infringes on neither property rights nor equality, and is in fact the most equitable system that could be found, the state told the High Court of Justice yesterday.

It was replying to a petition by the Dovrat-Shrem company, on which the court has already issued a show-cause order. The petition charged that this provision of the law violates both the property-protection clause and the guarantee of equality in the Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom, because it means that some people will be taxed on losses.

If, for instance, you bought a stock for NIS 100 last year, which was worth NIS 60 on January 1, and then sold it for NIS 80, you would pay taxes on a NIS 20 "profit" even though you really lost NIS 20.

In his response, government attorney Joshua Schoffman argued that the law does not infringe on property rights, because it relates to the real value of the property that existed when it took effect.

EVELYN GORDON

"The person [in Dovrat-Shrem's example] doesn't have property worth NIS 100 [as of January 1]," he explained. "This property once existed, but it no longer does."

Furthermore, he said, the tax has no impact on the investor's decisions, because these are based on how he thinks a stock will perform in the future - not on how much he paid for it in the past.

A tax can be unconstitutional only if it is confiscatory, Schoffman continued, and no tax with a maximum rate of 10% (without offsets) can be defined as such, even if the tax is on the full value of the stock rather than the profit - which would be the worst-case scenario, in the impossible event of a stock which had lost its entire value as of January 1, but then rebounded.

As for equality, "Human Dignity and Freedom," which includes equality on the basis of religious, race, sex, etc., does not include equality between investors who made profits and those who lost," he wrote.

In fact, he said, one of the solutions proposed by Dovrat-Shrem - that the base price for taxation should be the purchase price of the stock - would be even more unfair, because it would mean that those who carried losses over into 1995 would be able to offset them, while those whose losses were closed out by the start of the year would not.

Even worse, Schoffman said, this system would mean that anyone who earned profits over the past several years would be taxed on them, despite the fact that he invested on the assumption that he would not be taxed.

"The law doesn't tax past profits, and it doesn't permit the offsetting of past losses," he wrote.

Dovrat-Shrem's other suggestion - that the assessee be allowed to choose between the purchase price and the price on January 1 as the base price - is unworkable due to technical difficulties, Schoffman added. There is often no way to calculate or verify the sale price, since there was no need for such record-keeping before the tax was imposed.

'Kommisar' resignation sticks

ALON PINKAS

THE resignation of Gabi Kommisar, the general manager of TAAS-Israel Industries, is irreversible once he submitted it to all concerned, TAAS chairman Dan Shomron said yesterday.

In light of Kommisar's resignation Friday, Prime Minister and Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Treasury Minister Avraham Shohat postponed the confirmation of the management-workers agreement, under which severance pay for dismissed workers will be reduced, but pay will be increased for those working for profitable units of the company.

Kommisar resigned when his concept for an organizational restructuring of the company was not accepted by the board of directors. In his resignation letter, he explained that he could no longer function in a senior management position due to "substantive disagreements with the board on the future mode of operations of TAAS."

Kommisar had wanted to abolish the management staff, saying it was redundant and wasteful. Shomron and the board object-



Shomron: Proposed that TAAS be divided into six units. (Gustavo Feinblatt/Media)

ed, and instead proposed that TAAS, a giant conglomerate employing thousands of workers but rapidly losing money in a shrinking world arms market, be divided into six autonomous manufacturing units.

Dubek to lay off 25 due to sales drop

GALIT LIPKIS BECK

DUBEK, the country's largest cigarette manufacturer, announced plans yesterday to dismiss 25 workers following a drastic drop in sales and the accumulation of excess stock.

General manager Ruth Hirsch said Dubek's share in the market fell below 60 percent this year, and dropped particularly sharply during the last four months of the year.

Dubek has fired more than 200 workers since 1987, when the government changed its tax policy on cigarette imports.

"The fall is not a result of lack of efficiency or the company's failure to compete against imports," Hirsch said. "The drop is a direct result of the Treasury's policy, which discriminates local production to the benefit of the more expensive imported cigarettes."

"Dubek currently pays 240% of the wholesale price in purchase tax, compared with 156% imposed on the wholesale price of the more expensive imported cigarettes. A local factory cannot

survive in these conditions," she added.

Last month, Dubek set up a special committee of professionals, led by former MK Uriel Lynn, to help create "fair" market conditions in the local cigarette field.

The committee was set up as a response to ongoing appeals by a group of importers, headed by Oded Eliachar, managing director of the Menashe Eliachar Co. - the country's largest cigarette importer - asking the government not to submit to Dubek's demands.

Dubek, a monopoly, is subject to price controls from the Ministry of Industry and Trade. The company claims the government's tax policy has discriminated against it since 1988 in an attempt to increase imported cigarettes' share of the market. According to Dubek, the wholesale retail stores prefer imported cigarettes since they have a higher profit margin than Dubek's cigarettes.

Injunction filed against DSW privatization

LIAT COLLINS

THE SOCIETY for the Protection of Nature in Israel yesterday filed an injunction to halt the Dead Sea Works' impending privatization until the government bodies responsible for the transformation ensure the firm is subject to environmental, planning, and health laws.

The appeal is the latest in a series of steps taken by the environmental group against the firm which, based on a government concession, operates largely as an extra-territorial body.

The group says Dead Sea Works has misinterpreted the clause granting the firm a sweeping exemption from national laws. The SPNI also claims the

clause granting the company the right to "efficiently exploit the natural resources for the good of the national economy" obliges it to abide by environmental and conservation considerations to ensure that the earth "continues to supply its natural resources."

"It is even more urgent to insure the Dead Sea Works abides by these laws, ensuring environmental and public health safety in the face of the upcoming privatization in which control of the company could fall at least partially in the hands of unknown or foreign groups which won't be bound by the law," SPNI director Yossi Leshem said yesterday.

"At any rate, it is absurd that a company operating at the end of the 20th century in an enlightened country should be able to put itself above the law of the land, and every time it is challenged on the issue, it rallies interested parties to change the legislation to suit its needs," he added.

The Finance and Industry and Trade ministries have supported the claim made by Dead Sea Works' parent company, Israel Chemicals, that forcing it to apply for regular permits would hinder its operations and damage privatization chances.

Club Hotels group buys Eilat's Club-In

HAIM SHAPIRO

THE Club Hotels group, headed by Nissan Khakhsouri of Switzerland and local investors Nissan Yaniv and Moshe Bubli, have bought Eilat's Club-In Hotel for \$18 million.

The sellers included Alfred Akrov, Zvika Raz, Reuven Ela, and the Dovrat-Shrem group.

The hotel covers some 30 dun-

ams and includes 180 three-room units. Until recently, it had been managed by Hilton International.

Club Hotels, a timesharing company, owns the recently renovated Club Hotel Tiberias and Club Hotel Eilat, which is still under construction. It is linked

with the timesharing exchange companies Interval International and RCI.

Bubli stressed yesterday that the new owners intend to fulfill all commitments made to the 600 families who had acquired Club-In timesharing units.

He said they also intend to invest another \$2m. for renovations and expansion.

BUSINESS BRIEFS

SAU to set up local office: The US brokerage firm of Shane, Alexander, Unterburger Securities, Inc. plans to establish its first office here by March.

SAU is preparing its first public offering of an Israeli high-tech firm - TTR Inc. - producer of software productivity tools and software protection systems. SAU has already raised \$1 million for TTR in a private placement.

Diners Club International yesterday reported a 50 percent growth in 1994 credit card holders to 75,000, from 50,000 last year.

Bio-Technology General has added a third European country to its client list, with the launching of its human growth hormone product in Sweden to licensee Ferring.

Abjazz Mazal announced yesterday that test analysis of the Esther 4 site has revealed a gas reservoir with commercial potential. The Energy Ministry has granted Abjazz Mazal a 7-month extension for the Esther 4 and the Notra-Gonen sites. The company made the announcement yesterday, saying it was conducting additional production tests at Esther 4 and will conclude testing at Notra-Gonen.

Minuray Infrastructures, in cooperation with Mekorot, will construct a waste water purification plant to serve the Netanya region. Projected annual revenues for the plant are NIS 156 million. Mekorot, which will be responsible for the plant's operation, will grant Minuray a \$6.5m. loan, and will receive 50% of all operating revenues once the plant is up and running.

Strauss's food division yesterday inaugurated its fresh pasta factory in Carmiel. The company invested \$1.5m. in the factory, which will manufacture a range of fresh pasta products.

11% to own cellular phones: Some 11 percent of the population will own a cellular phone during the next few years, breaking the record high currently held by the Scandinavians, BellSouth International Vice President Marty Dicens said over the weekend. He added that Cellcom, in which BellSouth is a partner, sold 8,000 cellular phones in the first 2 1/2 weeks since entering the market. Six percent of Americans and 10% of Scandinavians own cellular phones.

Court asked to declare Joe Nakash bankrupt

THE Official Receiver, in his capacity as liquidator for the North American Bank, has asked the Tel Aviv District Court to declare businessman Joe Nakash bankrupt and order his assets placed under receivership.

Dr. Yossi Segev, representing the Official Receiver's office, said: "Nakash declared that he cannot and does not intend to pay his debt," based on a decision reached on December 27, 1993, in the Jerusalem District Court requiring Nakash and the other directors of the bank to pay the Official Receiver about \$480 million for their roles in the bank's collapse.

Segev said Nakash refused to cooperate in the liquidator's actions against him, and violated orders by the chief liquidator to answer questions concerning his assets. Nakash also allegedly maneuvered to prevent payment of the debt and to incur additional high "debts" to help him claim he could not pay.

He is also accused of several attempts to hide his assets and of smuggling them out of the country. Nakash has also stayed out of the country, refused to appear for investigation of his ability to pay by the liquidator's office, and is doing whatever he can to avoid paying his part, Segev charged. (Tum)

L'Oreal starts manufacturing at Migdal Haemek plant

Jerusalem Post Staff

FRENCH giant L'Oreal began manufacturing shampoos and cosmetics yesterday at the Interbeauty plant in Migdal Haemek. This marks the first time L'Oreal, which owns 30 percent of Interbeauty, has manufactured products locally.

The hair products firm will produce two lines - Elseve and Plenitude - and will further invest in the plant, which will double production capacity within two years.

Meanwhile, L'Oreal was awarded by the Israel-France Chamber of Commerce and the French Chamber of Commerce in Israel for outstanding achievement last night. CEO Lindsay Owen-Jones was present to accept the award.

L'Oreal products currently enjoy a 15% market share in Israel.

IEC to invest \$10m. in waste removal
The Israel Electric Corporation plans to invest \$10 million to establish a centralized modern system to treat industrial and sanitary waste from its five coastal power stations.

The system will be installed this year into the company's power stations in Haifa, Hadera, Tel Aviv, Ashdod, and Ashkelon. IEC awarded Bateman, a South African company, the contract to install the systems. "This is the largest investment the company has ever made in removal of waste, reflecting the company's friendly attitude towards the environment," IEC chairman Adi Amorai said.

ISRAEL MONEY MARKETS

Patah (foreign currency deposit rates) (13.1.95)			
Currency (deposit for)	3 MONTHS	6 MONTHS	12 MONTHS
U.S. dollar (\$250,000)	5.00	5.125	5.875
Pound sterling (£100,000)	4.875	5.375	5.875
German mark (DM 200,000)	4.000	4.250	5.125
Swiss franc (SF 200,000)	2.275	3.125	3.500
Yen (¥10 million)	0.750	0.750	0.750

(Rates vary higher or lower than indicated according to deposit)

Shekel Foreign Exchange Rates* (13.1.95)			
CHECKS AND TRANSFERS		BANKNOTES	
Currency basket	Buy	Buy	Rep.
U.S. dollar	3.9400	3.9200	3.9700
German mark	2.9201	2.9000	3.0100
Pound sterling	1.9488	1.9288	1.9888
French franc	4.5222	4.5022	4.5822
Japanese yen (¥100)	0.5930	0.5910	0.5950
Dutch guilder	3.0183	3.0000	3.0475
Swiss franc	1.7411	1.7288	1.7557
Swedish krona	2.3242	2.3077	2.3479
Norwegian krona	0.3684	0.3664	0.3707
Danish krone	0.4466	0.4451	0.4487
Finnish mark	0.4943	0.4933	0.4964
Canadian dollar	0.6310	0.6300	0.6330
Australian dollar	2.1013	2.1000	2.1040
S. African rand	2.2894	2.2877	2.2914
Belgian franc (¥10)	0.9465	0.9457	0.9488
Austrian schilling (¥10)	2.7698	2.7680	2.7710
Italian lira (¥100)	1.5577	1.5568	1.5597
Portuguese escudo	200.48	200.40	200.56
Irish punt	3.6880	3.6870	3.6900
Spanish peseta (¥100)	4.6883	4.6873	4.6903
Israeli shekel	2.2355	2.2370	2.2385

* These rates vary according to bank. ** Bank of Israel.

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